

The Wonders of the Invisible World:

Being an Account of the

TRYALS

OF

Several **Witches**

Lately Executed in

NEW-ENGLAND:

And of several Remarkable Curiosities
therein Occurring.

By COTTON MATHER.

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THE Author's Defence.

TIS, as I remember, the Learned *Scribonius*, who reports, That one of his Acquaintance, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Person molested by *Evil Spirits*, received from those *Evil Spirits* an horrible blow over the Face : And I my self expect not few or small Buffetings from *Evil Spirits*, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to Encounter them. I am far from insensible, that at this extraordinary Time of the *Devils coming down in great wrath upon us*, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby set on fire of *Hell* ; that the various Opinions about the Witchcrafts which of later time have troubled us, are maintained by some with so much cloudy Fury, as if they could never be sufficiently stated, unless written in the Liquor wherewith Witches use to write their Covenants ; and that he who becomes an Author at such a time, had need be Fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear. The unaccountable Forwardness, Asperity, Untreatableness, and Inconsistency of many Persons, every Day gives a visible Exposition of that passage, *An evil spirit from the Lord came upon Saul* ; and Illustration of that Story, *There met him two possessed with Devils, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way*. To send abroad a Book, among such Readers were a very unadvised thing, if a Man had not such Reasons to give, as I can bring, for such an Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be said, *They are all so* : No, I hope the Body of this People, are yet in such a Temper, as to be capable of applying their Thoughts, to make a *Right Use* of the stupendious and prodigious Things that are happening among us ; And because I was concern'd, when I saw that no abler Hand emitted any Essays to engage the Minds of this People, in such holy, pious, fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of his amazing Dispensations now upon us ; **THEREFORE** it is, that One of the Least among the Children of *New England*, has here done what is done. None, but the Father, who sees in secret, knows the Heart breaking Exercises, wherewith I

The Author's Defence.

have composed what is now going to be exposed, lest I should in any one thing miss of doing my designed Service for his Glory, and for his People; but I am now somewhat comfortably assured of his favourable acceptance; and, *I will not fear; what can a Satan do unto me?*

Having performed something of what God required, in labouring to suit his Words unto his Works, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been sometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a King, it will easily be perceived, that some subordinate Ends have been considered in these Endeavours.

I have indeed set my self to countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, against *New-England*, in every Branch of it, as far as one of my *darkness*, can comprehend such a *Work of darkness*. I may add, that I have herein also aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another Country, a thousand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, more, or however, more considerable Friends, than in my own: And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the best Terms with my own. But while I am doing these things, I have been driven a little to do something likewise for my self; I mean, by taking off the false Reports, and hard Censures about my Opinion in these Matters, the *Parter's Portions* which my *pursuit of Peace* has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *unvaried Thoughts* are here published; and I believe, they will be owned by most of the Ministers of God in these Colonies; nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other sorts of *Representations*.

In fine; For the Dogmatical part of my Discourse, I want no Defence; for the Historical part of it, I have a very Great One; the Lieutenant-Governour of *New-England* having perused it, has done me the Honour of giving me a Shield, under the Umbrage whereof I now dare to walk abroad,

Reverend

Reverend and Dear SIR,

YOU very much gratify'd me, as well as put a kind Respect upon me, when you put into my hands your elaborate and most seasonable Discourse, entitled, The Wonders of the Invisible World. And having now perus'd so fruitful and happy a Composition, upon such a Subject, at this Juncture of Time; and considering the place that I hold in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, still labouring and proceeding in the Trial of the persons accused and convicted for Witchcraft, I find that I am more nearly and highly concerned than as a meer ordinary Reader, to express my Obligation and Thankfulness to you for so great pains; and cannot but hold my self many ways bound, even to the utmost of what is proper for me, in my present publick Capacity, to declare my singular Approbation thereof. Such is your Design, most plainly expressed throughout the whole; such your Zeal for God, your Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom, your Faithfulness and Compassion to this poor people; such the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; such your Instruction and Counsel, your Care of Truth, your Wisdom and Dexterity in allaying and moderating that among us which needs it; such your clear discerning of Divine Providences and Periods, now running on apace towards their Glorious Issues in the World; and finally, such your good News of the Shortness of the Devils Time, that all good men must needs desire the making of this your Discourse publick to the World; and will greatly rejoyce, that the Spirit of the Lord has thus enabled you to lift up a standard against the Infernal Enemy, that hath been coming in like a flood upon us. I do therefore make it my particuler and earnest Request unto you, that as soon as may be, you will commit the same unto the Press accordingly. I am,

Your assured Friend,

WILLIAM STROUGHTON.

I Live by *Neighbours* that force me to produce these underserved Lines. But now, as when Mr. *Wilson* beholding a great Muster of *Soldiers*, had it by a Gentleman then present, said unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great thing: Here is a mighty Body of People; and there is not Seven of them all, but what loves Mr. Wilson.* That gracious Man presently and pleasantly reply'd; *Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty Body of People, and there is not so much as One among them all, but Mr. Wilson loves him.* Somewhat so: 'Tis possible, that among this Body of People, there may be few that love the Writer of this Book; but give me leave to boast so far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this *Mather* would not study to serve, as well as to love. With such a *Spirit of Love*, is the Book now before us written: I appeal to all this *VWorld*; and if *this VWorld* will deny me the Right of acknowledging so much, I appeal to the *other*, that it is *not written with an Evil Spirit*: for which cause, I shall not wonder, if *Evil Spirits* be exasperated by what is written, as the *Sadduces* doubtless were with what was discoursed in the Days of our Saviour. I only demand the *Justice*, that others read it, with the same Spirit wherewith I writ it.

ENCHANTMENTS

ENCOUNTER'D.

§ 1. **I**T was as long ago, as the Year 1637, that a Faithful Minister of the Church of *England*, whose Name was Mr. *Edward Symons*, did in a Sermon, afterwards Printed, thus express himself; *At New-England now the Sun of Comfort begins to appear; and the glorious Day-Star to show it self, — Sed Venient Annis Sæculæ Seris, there will come Times in after Ages, when the Clouds will over-shadow and darken the Skey there. Many now promise to themselves nothing but successive Happiness there, which for a time through God's Mercy they may enjoy; and I pray God they may a long time: but in this World there is no happiness perpetual. An Observation, or I had almost said, an Inspiration, very dismally now verifi'd upon us! It has been Affirm'd by some who best knew New-England. That the World will do New-England a great piece of Injustice, if it acknowledg not a measure of Religion, Loyalty, Honesty and Industry, in the people there, beyond what is to be found with any other People for the number of them. When I did a few years ago, Publish a Book, which mentioned a few memorable Witchcrafts, committed in this Country; the excellent Baxter, graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he sees cause to say, If any are Scandaliz'd, that New-England, a place of as serious Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, should be troubled so much with Witches; I think, 'tis no wonder: Where will the Devil shew most Malice, but where he is hated, and hateth most: And I hope, the Country will still deserve and answer the Charity to express'd by that Reverend Man of God. Who-soever travels over this Wilderness, will see it richly bespangled with Evangelical Churches, whose Pastors are holy, able, and painful Overseers of their Flocks, lively Preachers, and virtuous Livers: and such as in their several Neighbourly Associations, have had their Meetings whereat Ecclesiastical Matters of common Concernment are considered: Churches, whose Communicants have been seriously examined about their Ex-*

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periences of Regeneration, as well as about their Knowledge, and Belief, and blameless Conversation, before their admission to the Sacred Communion; altho others of less but hopeful Attainments in Christianity are not ordinarily deny'd Baptism for themselves and theirs; Churches, which are shy of using anything in the VVorship of God, for which they cannot see a VVarrant of God; but with whom yet the Names of *Congregational Presbyterian*, *Episcopalian*, or *Antipædobaptist*, are swallowed up in that of *Christian*; Persons of all those Perswasions being taken into our Fellowship, when visible Godliness has recommended them; Churches, which usually do within themselves manage their own Discipline under the Conduct of their Elders; but yet call in the help of *Synods* upon Emergencies, or Aggrievancies: *Churches*, Lastly, wherein Multitudes are growing ripe for Heaven every day; and as fast as these are taken off, others are daily rising up. And by the Presence and Power of the Divine Institutions thus maintained in the Country. We are still so happy, that I suppose there is no Land in the Universe more free from the debauching, and the debasing Vices of Ungodliness. The Body of the People are hitherto so disposed, that *Swearing*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Whoring*, *Drunkenness*, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monster, or a Goblin, in the vulgar Estimation. All this notwithstanding, we must humbly confess to our God, that we are miserably degenerated from the first Love of our Predecessors; however we boast our selves a little, when Men would go to trample upon us, and we venture to say, *Wherein soever any is bold (we speak foolishly) we are bold also.* The first Planters of these Colonies were a chosen Generation of Men, who were first so pure, as to disrelish many things which they thought wanted Reformation elsewhere, and yet withal so peaceable, that they embraced a voluntary Exile in a squalid, horrid *American Desert*, rather than to live in Contentions with their Brethren. Those good Men imagined that they should never see the Inroads of Profanity, or superstition: And a famous Person returning hence, could in a Sermon before the Parliament, profess, *I have now been seven Years in a Countrey, where I never saw one Man drunk, or heard one Oath sworn, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets all the while.* Such great Persons as *Budeus*, and others, who mistook Sir *Thomas Moor's* *UTOPIA*; for a Country really existent, and stirr'd up some Divines charitably to undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Mistake; *New-England* was a true *Utopia*.

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But, alas, the Children and Servants of those old Planters must needs afford many degenerate Plants, and there is now risen up a Number of People, otherwise inclined than our *Joshua's*, and the Elders that out-liv'd them. Those two things our holy Progenitors, and our happy Advantages make Omissions of Duty, and such Spiritual Disorders as the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as provoking in us, as the most flagitious Wickedness committed in other places; and the Ministers of God are accordingly severe in their Testimonies: But in short, those Interests of the Gospel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into these Ends of the Earth, have been too much neglected and postponed, and the Attainments of an handsome Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes that have not fallen into Exorbitances of wickedness; and some, especially of our young Ones, when they have got abroad from under the Restraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence 'tis, that the Happiness of *New-England* has been but for a time, as it was foretold, and not for a long time, as has been desir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity has long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reason imaginable to ascribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold *Apostasies*; we make no right use of our Disasters. If we do not, *Remember whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the first Works*. But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Consideration with us: There is a further Cause of our Afflictions, whose due must be given him.

§ II. The *New-Englanders* are a People of God settled in those which were oncthe *Devils Territories*; and it may easily be supposed that the Devil was exceedingly disturbed, when he perceived such a People here accomplishing the Promise of old made unto our Blessed Jesus, *That he should have the utmost parts of the Earth for his Possession*. There was not a greater Uproar among the *Ephesians*, when the Gospel was first brought among them, than there was among *The Powers of the Air* (after whom those *Ephesians* walked) when first the *Silver Trumpets* of the Gospel here made the *Joyful Sound*. The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all sorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and so much of the Church, as was *Fled into this Wilderness*, immediately found, *The Serpent cast out of his Mouth a Flood for the carrying of it away*: I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* used for the Unsettling of any People under

der the Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted*, Casting out the *Heathens*, and preparing a Room before it, and causing it to take deep Root, and fill the Land, so that it sent its Boughs unto the Atlantic Sea Eastward, and its Branches unto the Connecticut River Westward, and the Hills were covered with the shadow thereof. But, All those Attempts of Hell have hitherto been Abortive, many an *Ebenezer* has been Erected unto the Praise of God, by his Poor People here; and *Having obtained Help from God*, we continue to this Day: Wherefore the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprizing, more snarl'd with unintelligible Circumstances than any that we have hitherto Encounter'd; an Attempt so Critical, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy *Halcyon Days*, with all the *Vultures of Hell* Trodden under our Feet. He has wanted his *Incarnate Legions* to Persecute us, as the People of God have in the other Hemisphere been persecuted; he has therefore drawn forth his more *Spiritual* ones to make an *Attacque* upon us. We have been advised by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice of, *An Horrible PLOT against the Country by WITCHCRAFT*, and a Foundation of *WITCHCRAFT* then laid, which if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have now with Horror seen the Discovery of such a *Witchcraft*! An Army of Devils is horribly broke in upon the place which is the Center, and after a sort, the First born of our *English* Settlements: and the Houses of the Good People there are filled with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the Mischiefs there Endeavoured, and since in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its Progress into some other places, where other Persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. These our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they become Infected and Infested with these Demons, arrive to a Capacity of Discerning those which they conceive the Shapes of their Troubles; and notwithstanding the Great and Just Suspicion, that the Demons might Impose the Shapes of Innocent Persons in their Spectral Exhibitions upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no small part of the *Witch-Plot* in the issue) yet many of the Persons thus Represented

presented, being Examined, several of them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *Witchcraft* : yea, more than One *Twenty* have Confessed, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil shew'd them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land. We know not, at least I know not, how far the Delusions of Satan may be Interwoven into some Circumstances of the Confessions; but one would think all the Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs are at an end, If after so many most Voluntary Harmonious Confessions, made by Intelligent Persons of all Ages in sundry Towns, at several Times, we must not Believe the main strokes wherein those Confessions agree: Especially when we have a Thousand preternatural Things every day before our Eyes, wherein the Confessors do acknowledg their Concernment, and give Demonstration of their being so Concerned. If the Devils now can strike the Minds of Men with any Poysons of so fine a Composition and Operation, that scores of Innocent People shall Unite, in Confessions of a Crime, which we see actually Committed, it is a thing prodigious; beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of a Dissolution upon the World. Now, by these Confessions 'tis Agreed, That the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of Witches in the Country, and by the help of Witches has dreadfully increased that Knot : That these Witches have driven a Trade of Commissioning their Confederate Spirits, to do all sorts of Mischiefs to the Neighbourhoods, whereupon there have ensued such Mischievous Consequences upon the Bodies and Estates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for : Yea, That at prodigious Witch-Meetings, the Wretches have proceeded so far, as to Concert and Consult the Methods of Rooting out the Christian Religion from this Countrey, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more gross Diabolism, that ever the World saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of Miracle, if in so spread a business as this the Devil should not get in some of his Judges, to confound the Discovery of all the rest.

§. III. Doubtless, the Thoughts of many will receive a great Scandal against *New England*, from the Number of Persons that have been Accused, or Suspected, for *Witchcraft*, in this Country : But it were easie to offer many things, that may Answer and Abate the Scandal. If the holy Ghost should any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked *Scholars* into *Witchcraft*, and then by their Assistance to Range with their *Poisonous Insinuations*

Insinuations among Ignorant, Envious, Discontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into some sudden *Act*, whereby the *Toyls* of Hell shall be perhaps inextricably cast over them : what Country in the World would not afford *Witchcrafts*, numerous to a Prodigy ? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of *Sweden Denmark, Scotland*, yea, and *England* it self, as well as the Province of *New-England*, have had their Storms of *Witchcrafts* breaking upon them, which have made most Lamentable Devastations : which also I wish, may be *The Last*. And it is not uneasy to be imagined, That God has not brought out all the *Witchcrafts* in many other Lands with such a speedy, dreadful, destroying *Jealousie*, as burns forth upon such *High Treasons*, committed here in *Aland* of uprightness : Transgressors may more quickly here than elsewhere become a Prey to the Vengeance of him, *Who has Eyes like a Flame of Fire*, and, *who walks in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks*. Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occasion insult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happened at *Loim*, in the Dutchy of *Gulic*, where a Popish Curate having ineffectually try'd many Charms to Eject the Devil out of a Damsel there possessed, he passionately bid the Devil come out of her into himself ; but the answered him, *Quid mihi Opus, est eum centare, quem Novissimo die, Jure Optimo sum possessurus ?* That is, *What need I meddle with one whom I am sure to have, and bold at the Last-day as my own for ever.*

An Hortatory and Necessary Address, To a Country now Extraordinarily Alarum'd by the Wrath of the Devil. 'Tis this.

LEt us now make a good and right use of the prodigious Descent which the Devil in Great Wrath is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an O-rator call'd the Town together, crying out, *Concurrite Cives, Dilapsa sunt vestra Menia!* that is, *Come together, Neighbours, your Town Walls are fallen down!* But such is the Descent of the Devil at this day upon our selves, that I may truly tell you, *The Walls of the whole World are broken down!* The usual Walls of Defence about Mankind have such a Gap made in them, that the very Devils are broke in upon us, to seduce the Souls, torment the Bodies, fully the Credits, and consume the Estates of our Neighbours, with Impressions both as real and as furious, as if the Invisible World were becoming Incarnate, on purpose for the vexing of us. And what use ought now to be made of so tremendous a Dispensation? We are engaged in a Fast this day; but shall we try to fetch Meat out of the Eater, and make the Lion to afford some Honey for our Souls?

That the Devil is come down unto us with great Wrath, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many ways, for many years hath the Devil been assaying to extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus here. New England may complain of the Devil, as in *Psal. 129. 1. 2.* *Many a time have they afflicted me, from my Youth, may New England now say; many a time have they afflicted me from my Youth, yet they have not prevailed against me.* But now there is a more than ordinary Affliction with which the Devil is Gallings of us; and such an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The things confessed by *Witches*, and the things endured by *Others*, laid together, amount unto this account of our Affliction. The Devil, exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small Black Man, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious Creatures, to list themselves in his horrid Service, by entring their Names in a Book by him tendred unto them. These *Witches*, whereof above a Score have now Confessed and shown their Deeds, and some are now tormented by the Devils for Confessing, have met in Hellish Rendezvous, wherein the Confessors do say, they have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the Baptism and the Supper of our Lord. In these hellish Meetings, these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a thing than to destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ

in these parts of the World; and in order hereunto, First, they each of them have their *Spectres* or Devils, commission'd by them, and representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres* they sieze poor People about the Country, with various and bloody *Torments*; and of those evidently preternatural *Torments* there are some have dy'd. They have bewitched some, even so far as to make *Self-destroyers*: And others are in many Towns here and there languishing under their *Evil hands*. The People thus afflicted, are miserably scratched and bitten, so that the Marks are most visible to all the World, but the Causes utterly invisible: And the same invisible Furies do most visibly stick Pins into the Bodies of the Afflicted, and *scale* them, and hideously distort and disjoint all their Members, besides a thousand others of Plagues beyond these, of any natural Diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor People out of their Chambers, and carry them over Trees and Hills for divers Miles together. A large part of the Persons tortured by these Diabolical *Spectres*, are horribly tempted by them, sometimes with fair Promises, and sometimes with hard Threatnings, but always with felt Miseries to sign the *Devils Laws* in a Spectral Book laid before them; which two or three of these poor Sufferers, being by their tiresome Sufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been released from all their Miseries, and they appeared in *Spectre* then to torture those that were before their Fellow-Sufferers. The *Witches*, which by their Covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of *Spectres*, are often-times by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their Consent, for the molestation of some, which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon; and cruel Depradations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Prosecution of these Witchcrafts, among a thousand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the most substantial and corporeal Instruments of Torture with Invisibilty, while the Wounds thereby given have been the most palpable things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron, wholly unseen to the Standers-by, though, to their Cost, seen by themselves, have, upon snatching, wrested the Instruments out of the *Spectres* hands, and every one has then immediately not only beheld, but handled an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. These wicked *Spectres* have proceeded so far, as to steal several quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Money has, before
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sufficient Spectators, been dropt out of the Air into the hand of the Sufferers, while the *Spectres* have been urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. In such extravagant ways have these Wretches propounded the *Dragooning* of as many as they can in their own Combination, and the *Destroying* of others, with lingring, spreading, deadly Diseases, till our Countrey should at last become too hot for us. Among the Ghastly Instances of the *Success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own Children so dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy it is found the *Imps* have sucked them, and rendred them venomous to a Progey. We have also seen the Devils first Batteries upon the Town, where the first Church of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing those distractions, which have almost ruin'd the Town. We have seen likewise the Plague reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near, where the Houses of good Men have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the Descent, which it seems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Descent the more formidable, is, The *multitude* and *quality* of Persons accused of an Interest in this *Witchcraft*, by the Efficacy of the *Spectres* which take their Name and Shape upon them; causing very many good and wise Men to fear, That many *innocent*, yea, and *some* *vertuous* Persons, are by the Devils in this matter imposed upon; That the Devils have obtained the Power, to take on them the likeness of harmless People, and in that likeness to afflict other people, and be so abused by Prestigious *Demons*, that upon their look or touch the afflicted shall be odly affected. Arguments from the *Providence of God*, on the one side, and from our *Charity* towards *Man* on the other side, have made this now to become a most agitated Controversie among us. There is an *Agony* produced in the minds of Men, lest the Devil should sham us with *Devices*, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practised upon the World: The whole business is become hereupon so *snarled*, and the determination of the Question one way or another, so *dismal*, that our Honourable Judges have a room for *Jehoshaphat's* Exclamation, *We know not what to do!* They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the *Spectral Evidences*, to introduce their further Enquiries into the *Lives* of the persons accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with other *Evidences*, that some of the *Witch Gang* have been fairly

executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the *Evidence* is chiefly founded in the *dark World*? Here they do solemnly demand our Addresses to the *Father of Lights* on their behalf. But in the mean time, the Devil improves the *Darkness* of this Affair, to push us into a *Blind mans Buffet*, and we are even ready to be *sinfully*, yea, hotly and madly, mauling one another in the dark.

The consequence of these things every *considerate man* trembles at, and the more, because the frequent Cheats of *Passion* and *Rumour*, do precipitate so many, that I wish I could say, *The most were considerate.*

But that which carries on the formidableness of our Trials, unto that which may be called, *A wrath unto the uttermost*, is this: It is not without the *wrath* of the Almighty God himself, that the Devil is permitted thus to come down upon us in *wrath*. It was said in *Isa. 9. 19.* *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts the Land is darkened.* Our Land is darkened indeed, since the *Powers of Darkness* are turned in upon us: 'Tis a dark time, yea, a black night indeed, now the *Ty-dogs* of the Pit are abroad among us: but, *it is through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts!* Inasmuch as the *Firebrands* of Hell it self are used for the scorching of us with cause enough may we cry out, *What means the heat of this Anger?* Blessed Lord! Are all the other Instruments of thy Vengeance too good for the chastisement of such Transgressors as we are? Must the very Devils be sent out of their own place, to be our Troublers? Must we be lash'd with *Scorpions*, fetch'd from the *Place of Torment*? Must this *Wilderness* be made a Receptacle for the *Dragons of the Wilderness*? If a *Lapland* should nourish in it vast numbers, the Successors of the old *Bear-men*, who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or sell Winds to Mariners, and have their *Familiar Spirits* which they bequeath to their Children when they die, and by their enchanted Kettle-drums can learn things done a thousand Leagues off. If a *Spedeland* should afford a Village, where some Score of Hags may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits*, but also by their Enchantments drag many scores of poor Children out of their Bed-chambers, to be spoiled at those Meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of so much wonder! But that *New-England* should this way be harassed! They are not *Chaldeans*, that *Bitter and Hasty Nation*, but they are *Bitter and Burning Devils*: They are not *Smarthy Indians*, but they are *Sooty Devils*; that are let loose upon us. Ah, poor *New-England!* must the Plague of *Old Egypt* come upon thee?

thee? Whereof we read in Ps. 78. 49. *He cast upon them the fierceness of his Anger, Wrath and Indignation, and Troubles, by sending Evil Angels among them.* What, O what must next be looked for? Must that which is there next mentioned, be next encountered? *He spared not their Soul from Death, but gave their Life over to the Pestilence.* For my part, when I consider what Melancthon says, in one of his Epistles, *That these Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodigies*; and when I consider, how often People have been by Spectres called upon, just before their Deaths, I am verily afraid, lest some wasting Mortality be among the things, which this Plague is the Forerunner of. I pray God prevent it!

But now, *What shall we do?*

I Let the Devils coming down in great wrath upon us, cause us to come down in great grief before the Lord. We may truly and sadly say, *We are brought very low! Low* indeed, when the Serpents of the Dust are crawling and coiling about us, and insulting over us. May we not say, *We are all in the Belly of Hell*, when *Hell itself* is feeding upon us? But how *low* is that! O let us then most penitently lay our selves very Low before the God of Heaven who has thus abased us. When a truculent Nero, a Devil of a Man, was turned in upon the World, it was said in 1 Pet. 5. 6. *Humble your selves under the mighty hand of God.* How much more now ought we to humble our selves under that Mighty Hand of that God, who indeed has the Devil in a Chain, but has horribly lengthened out the Chain? When the old People of God heard any *Basphemies*, tearing of his ever-blessed Name to peices, they were to rend their Cloaths at what they heard. I am sure that we have cause to rend our hearts this day, when we see what an high Treason has been committed against the most High God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may say; and shall we not be humbled when we say it? *We have seen an horrible thing done in our Land!* O 'tis a most humble thing to think, that ever there should be such an Abomination among us, as for a Crew of Humane Race to Renounce their Maker, and to unite with the Devil, for the troubling of Mankind; and for People to be (as is by some confessed) Baptised by a Fiend using this Form upon them, *Thou art mine, and I have a full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an Hellish Bread and Wine, by that Fiend administred to them. It was said in Deut. 18. 10, 11, 12. *There shall not be found among you an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer; For all that do these things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominati-*

is, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee. That *New-England* now should have these *Abominations* in it, yea, that some of no mean *Profession*, should be found guilty of them: Alas, what *Humiliations* are we all hereby obliged unto? O 'tis a defiled Land wherein we live; Let us be humbled for these *Defiled Abominations*, lest we be driven out of our Land. It's very *humbling* thing to think, what *Reproaches* will be cast upon us for this matter among the *Daughters of the Philistines*. Indeed, enough might easily be said for the *Vindication* of this Country from the *Singularity* of this Matter, by ripping up what has been discovered in others. *Great Britain* alone, and this also in our days of *Greatest Light*, has had that in it, which may divert the *Calumnies* of an ill-Natured World, from centring here. They are Words of the devout *Bishop Hill*, *Satans prevalency in this Age* is most clear, in the marvellous number of *Witches* abounding in all places. Now hundreds are discovered in one *Shire*; and, if *Fame* deceives us not, in a *Village* of *Fourteen Houses* in the North, are found so many of this damned Brood; yea, and those of both Sexes, who have professed much *Knowledge*, *Holiness* and *Devotion*, are drawn into this damnable Practice. I suppose the Doctor in the first of those Passages, may refer to what happened in the year 1645. when so many *Vassals* of the Devil were detected, that there was *Thirty* try'd at one time, whereas about *Fourteen* were hanged, and an hundred more detained in the Prisons of *Suffolk* and *Essex*. Among other things which many of these acknowledged; one was, That they were to undergo certain Punishments, if they did not such and such Hurts as were appointed them. And, amongst the rest that were then Executed, there was an old Person called *Lewis*, who confessed, That he had a couple of Imps, whereof one was always putting him upon the doing of Mischief. Once particularly, that *Imp* calling for his Consent so to do, went immediately and sunk a Ship, then under Sail. I pray, let not *New-England* become of an unfavoury and sulphurous Resentment in the Opinion of the World abroad, for the doleful things which are now fallen out among us, while there are such Histories of other places abroad in the World. Nevertheless, I am sure that we, the People of *New-England*, have cause enough to *hamble* our selves under our most *humbling* Circumstances. We must no more be *haughty*, because of the Lord's holy Mountain among us. No, it becomes us rather to be humbled, because we have been such a Habitation of unholy Devils.

II. Since the Devil is come down in great wrath upon us, let not us in our great wrath against one another provide a Lodging for him.

him. It was a most wholesome Caution, in *Eph. 4: 26, 27. Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath: Neither give place to the Devil.* The Devil is come down to see what Quarter he shall find among us: And if his coming down do now fill us with *wrath* against one another; and if betwixt the Cause of the Sufferers on one hand, and the Cause of the Suspected on the other, we carry things to such Extreames of *Passion* as are now gaining upon us, the Devil will bless himself to find such a convenient Lodging as we shall therein afford unto him. And it may be that the *wrath* which we have had against one another, has had more than a little Influence upon the coming down of the Devil in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been Devils one unto another for Sladerings, for Back-bitings, for Animosities? For this, among other Causes, perhaps, God has permitted the Devils to be worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all *Devilism*, when the Devil himself is falling upon us: And it is no time for us to be censuring and reviling one another, with a *Devilish wrath*, when the *wrath* of the Devil is annoying us. The way for us to out-wit the Devil in the Wiles with which he now vexes us, would be for us to joyn as one Man in our Cries to God, for the directing and issuing of this Thorny Business; but if we do not lift up our Hands to Heaven without *wrath*, we cannot then do it without doubt, of speeding in it. I am ashamed when I read French Authors giving this Character of *English-men*. [*Ils se haïssent Les uns les autres, & sont en Division continuelle.*] They hate one another, and are always Quarrelling one with another. And I shall be much more ashamed, if it become the Character of *New-Englanders*; which is indeed what the Devil would have. Satan would make us bruise one another, by breaking of the Peace among us: But O let us disappoint them. We read of a thing that sometimes happens to the Devil, when he is foaming with his *wrath*, in *Matth. 12. 43. The unclean Spirit seeks rest, and finds none.* But we give rest unto the Devil, by *wrath* one against another. If we would lay aside all fierceness and keenness, in the Disputes which the Devil has raised among us; and if we would use to one another none but the soft Answers, which turn away *wrath*; I should hope that we might light upon such Counsels, as would quickly extricate us out of our Labyrinths. But the old Incendiary of the VWorld is come from Hell, with Sparks of Hell Fire flashing on every side of him; and we make our selves Tynder to the Sparks. VWhen the Emperor Henry III. kept the Feast of *Pentecost*, at the City of *Mentz*, there arose

arose a Dissention among some of the People there, which came from *Words to Blows*, and at last it passed on to the *shedding of Blood*. After the *Tumult* was over, when they came to that *Clause* in their Devotions, *Thou hast made this Day glorious*; the Devil, to the inexpressible Terror of that vast Assembly, made the Temple ring with that Out-cry, *But I have made this Day Quarrellsome*: We are truly come into a day, which by being well managed, might be very *Glorious* for the Exterminating of those *Accursed Things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Prosperity. But if we make this day quarrellsome, through any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, *O Lord, my flesh trembles for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments*. Erasmus, among other Historians, tells us, that at a Town in Germany, a Witch, or Devil, appear'd on the top of a Chimney, threatening to set the Town on Fire: And at length, scattering a Pot of Athes abroad, the Town was presently and horribly burnt unto the Ground. Methinks I see the Spectres from the top of the Chimneys to the Northward, threatening to scatter Fire about the Country; but let us quench that Fire by the most Amicable Correspondencies; lest, as the Spectres have, they say, already most literally burnt some of our Dwellings, there do come forth a further fire from the Brambles of Hell, which may terribly Devour us. Let us not be like a Troubled House, altho we are so much haunted by the Devils. Let our long suffering be a well placed piece of Armour about us, against the Fiery Darts of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago as the year 858: a certain Pefident and Malignant sort of a Demon, molested Chaumont in Germany, with all sorts of Methods to stir up strife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detested Villanies, he branded People with all kind of Infamies. He incensed the Neighbourhood against One Man particularly, as the Cause of all the Mischiefs; who yet proved himself innocent. He threw Stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burnt their Habitations, till the Commission of the Demon could go no further. I say, let us be well aware lest such Demons do come hither also.

III. Inasmuch as the Devil is come down in great Wrath, we had need labour with all the care and speed we can, to divert the great Wrath of Heaven from coming at the same time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions been calling us to a Reformation of our provoking Evils, as the only way to avoid that Wrath of his, which does not only threaten, but consume us. 'Tis because we have been Deaf to those Calls that we are now by a provoked God laid open to the Wrath of the Devil himself. It is said

said in Prov. 16. 7. *When a mans ways please the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is our grand Enemy; and tho we would not be at peace with him, yet we would be at peace from him; that is, we would have him unable to disquiet our Peace. But inasmuch as the *wrath* which we endure from this Enemy, will allow us no peace, we may be sure *our ways have not pleased the Lord.* It is because we have *broken the Hedge of God's Precepts*, that the Hedge of God's *Providence* is not so entire as it uses to be about us; but *Serpents* are *biting* of us. O let us then see our selves, to make our peace with our God, whom we have *displeased* by our Iniquities: And let us not imagine that we can encounter the *Wrath of the Devil*, while there is the *Wrath of God Almighty* to set that Maltiff upon us. REFORMATION, REFORMATION, has been the repeated Cry of all the Judgments that have hitherto been upon us; because we have been as *deaf Adders* thereunto; the *Adders* of the Infernal Pit are now hissing about us. At length, as it was of old said, *Luke 60 13. If one went unto them from the dead, they will repent*; even so, there are some come unto us from the damned. The Great God has loosed the Bars of the Pit, so that many damned Spirits are come in among us, to make us repent of our Misdemeanors. The Means which the Lord had formerly employ'd for our awakening, were such, that he might well have said, *What could I have done more?* And yet after all, he has done more, in some regards, than was ever done for the awakening of any People in the World. The things now done to awaken our Enquiries after our provoking Evils, and our Endeavours to reform those Evils, are most extraordinary things; for which cause I would freely speak it, if we now do not some extraordinary things in speedily returning to God, we are the most incurable; and I wish it be not quickly said, the most miserable People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a time for all People to do something extraordinary, in *searching and trying of their ways, and in turning to the Lord.* It is an extraordinary rate of *Circumspection*, and *Spiritual mindedness*, that we should all now maintain a *walk with God.* At such a time as this, ought not Magistrates to do something extraordinary in promoting of what is laudable, and in restraining and chastising of *Evil doers*? At such a time as this, ought not *Ministers* to do something extraordinary in pulling the Souls of Men out of the Snares of the Devil, not only by publick *Preaching*, but by personal Visits and Counsels, *from house to house.* At such a time as this ought not *Churches* to do something extraordinary in renewing of their Covenants, and in remembering and reviving the Obligations of what they have renewed. Some admir-

mirable Designs about the Reformation of Manners, have lately been on foot in the *English* Nation, in pursuance of the most excellent Admonitions which have been given for it, by the Letters of their Majesties. Besides, the Vigorous Agreements of the *Justices* here and there in the Kingdom, assisted by godly Gentlemen and Informers, to *execute* the Laws upon prophane Offenders; there has been started a Peoposal for the well affected People in every Parish, to enter into orderly Societies, whereof every Member shall bind himself, not only to avoid Prophanenels in himself, but also according unto their Place, to do their utmost in first Re-proving; and if it must be so, then Exposing, and so Punishing, as the Law directs, for others that shall be guilty. It has been observed, that the *English* Nation has had some of its great Successes, upon some special and signal Actions this way; and a discouragement given unto Legal Proceedings of this kind, must needs be very exercising to the *Wise* that observe these things. But O, why should not *New England* be the most forward part of the *English* Nation in such Reformation? Methink I hear the Lord from Heaven saying overus, O that my people had harkned unto me, then I should soon have subdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies! There have been some feeble Essays towards Reformation of late in our Churches; but I pray what comes of them? Do we stay till the storm of his Wrath be over? Nay, let us be doing what we can, as fast as we can to divert the storm. The Devils having broke in upon our World, there is great asking, Who is it that has brought them in? And many do by Spectral Exhibitions come to be cryed out upon. I hope in Gods time it will be found, that among those that are thus cryed out upon, there are Persons yet Clear from the great Transgression; but indeed, all the Unreformed among us, may justly be cryed out upon, as having too much of an hand in letting of the Devils into our Borders; 'tis our Worldliness, our Formality, our Sensuality, and our Iniquity, that has helped this letting of the Devils in. O let us then at last, consider our ways. 'Tis a strange passage recorded by Mr. Clark, in the Life of his Father, That the People of his Parish refusing to be Reclaimed from their Sabbath-breaking, by all the Zealous Testimonies which that good Man bore against it; at last, on a Night after the People had retired home from a Revelling prophanation of the Lord's Day, there was heard a great Noise, with ratling of Chains up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimstone fill'd the Neighbourhood. Upon which the guilty Consciences of the Wretches told them, the Devil was come to fetch them away; and it so terrified them, that an Eminent Reformation followed the Sermons which that Man

of God preached thereupon. Behold Sinners, behold and wonder, lest you perish; the very Devils are walking about our Streets, with lengthned Chains, making a dreadful Noise in our Ears, and Brimstone even without a Metaphor, is making an hellish and horrid stench in our Nostrils. I pray leave off all those things whereof your guilty Consciences may now accuse you, lest the Devils do yet more direfully fall upon you. Reformation is at this time our only preservation.

HAVING thus discours'd on *Wonders of the Invisible World*, I shall now with God's help, go on to relate some Remarkable and Memorable Instances of Wonders which that World has given to our selves. And altho the chief Entertainment which my Readers do expect, and shall receive, will be a true History of what has occurred, respecting the *Witchcrafts* wherewith we are at this day persecuted; yet I shall choose to Usher in the mention of those things, with,

A Narrative of an APPARITION which a Gentleman in Boston, had of his Brother, just then Murthered in Lon- don.

IT was on the 2d of May, in the year 1687, that a most ingenious accomplished and well disposed Gentleman, Mr. Joseph Beacon by Name, about five a Clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or Waking he could not say, (but judged the latter of them) had a View of his Brother then at London, altho he was now himself at our Boston, distanced from him a Thousand Leagues. This his Brother appear'd unto him in the Morning about five a Clock at Boston, having on him a Bengal Gown, which he usually wore, with a Napkin tyed about his Head; his Countenance was very Pale, Gaffly, Deadly, and he had a Bloody Wound on one side of his Forehead. Brother! says the affrighted Joseph. Brother; answered the Apparition. Said Joseph, What's the matter Brother? How came you here? The Apparition replied, Brother, I have been most barbarously and injuriously Butcher'd by a Debauch'd, drunken Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my Life. Whereupon he gave a particular description of the Murtherer; adding, Brother, This Fellow chang-

ing his Name, is attempting to come over unto New-England, in Foy or Wild: I would pray you on the first Arrival of either of these, to get an Order from the Governour, to Seize the Person whom I have now described; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother: I'll stand by you and prove the Indictment. And so he vanished. Mr. Beacon was extremely astonished at what he had seen and heard; and the people of the Family not only observed an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the week following, but have also given me under their hands a full Testimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. Beacon had no advice of any thing amiss attending his Brother then in England; but about the latter end of June following, he understood by the common ways of Communication, that the April before, his Brother going in haste by Night to call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in Drink, with his Doxy in his Hand: Some way or other the Fellow thought himself Affronted with the hasty passage of this Beacon, and immediately ran into the Fire side of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-fork, wherewith he grievously wounded Beacon in the Skull; even in that very part where the Apparition show'd his Wound. Of this Wound he Languished until he Dyed on the Second of May, about five of the Clock in the Morning at London. The Murderer it seems was endeavouring to Escape, as the Apparition affirmed, but the Friends of the Deceased Beacon, Seized him; and prosecuting him at Law, he found the help of such Friends as brought him off without the loss of his Life; since which there has no more been heard of the Business.

This History I received of Mr. Joseph Beacon himself, who a little before his own pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story written and signed with his own Hand, and attested with the Circumstances I have already mentioned.

BUT I shall no longer detain my Reader from his expected Entertainment, in a brief Account of the Tryals which have pass'd upon some of the Malefactors lately Executed at Salem, for the *Witchcrafts* whereof they stood Convicted. For my own part, I was not present at any of them; nor ever had I any Personal prejudice at the Persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less at the surviving Relations of those Persons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a Mourner as any Man living in the World: *The Lord Comfort them!* But having
received

received a particular Command so to do, I can do no other than shortly relate the chief *Matters of Fact*, which occur'd in the Tryals of some that were Executed, in an Abridgment Collected out of the *Court Papers*, on this occasion put into my hands. You are to take the Truth just as it was; and the Truth will hurt no good man. There might have been more of these, if my Book would not thereby have swollen too big; and if some other worthy hands did not perhaps intend something further in these *Collections*; for which cause I have only singled out Four or Five, which may serve to illustrate the way of *Dealing*, wherein *Witchcrafts* use to be concerned; and I report matters not as an *Advocate*, but as an *Historian*.

They were some of the Gracious Words inserted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Ministers did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, *We cannot but with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Assiduous endeavours of our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; humbly Praying, that the discovery of these mysterious and mischievous wickednesses, may be perfected.* If in the midst of the many Dissatisfactions among us, the Publication of these Tryals, may promote such a pious Thankfulness unto God for Justice being so far executed among us, I shall Rejoyce that God is Glorified; and pray that no wrong steps of ours may ever fully any of his Glorious Works. But we will begin with

A Modern Instance of Witches, Discovered and Condemned in a Tryal, before that Celebrated Judg, Sir Matthew Hale.

IT may cast some Light upon the Dark things now in *America*, if we just give a glance upon the like things lately happening in *Europe*. We may see the *Witchcrafts* here most exactly resemble the *Witchcrafts* there; and we may learn what sort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable Baxter very truly says, *Judge Hale was a Person, than whom no man was more Backward to condemn a Witch, without full Evidence.*

Now, one of the latest Printed Accounts about a Tryal of *Witches*, is of what was before him, and it ran on this wise. [Printed in the Year 1682.] And it is here the rather mentioned, because it was a Tryal much considered by the Judges of *New-England*.

I. *Rose Cullender* and *Amy Dury*, were severally Indicted, for Bewitching *Elizabeth Durent*, *Ann Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Susan Chandler*, *William Durent*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, and the Evidence whereon they were Convicted, stood upon divers particular Circumstances.

II: *Ann Durent*, *Susan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacy*, when they came into the Hall, to give Instructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into strange and violent Fits, so that they were unable to give in their Depositions, nor only then, but also during the whole Assizes. *William Durent* being an Infant, his Mother Swore, That *Amy Dury* looking after her Child one Day in her absence, did at her return confess, that she had given suck to the Child: (tho' she were an Old Woman :) Whereat, when *Durent* expressed her displeasure, *Dury* went away with Discontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into strange and sad Fits; wherein it continued for divers Weeks. One Dr. *Jacob* advised her to hang up the Childs Blanket in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night when she went to put the Child into it if she found any thing in it then to through it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up and down the Hearth. A boy catch't it, and held it in the Fire with the Tongs, where it made an horrible Noise and flash'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report like that of a Pistol: Whereupon the Toade was no more to be seen. The next Day a Kinswoman of *Dury's* told the Deponent, that her Aunt was all grievously scorch'd with the Fire, and the Deponent going to her House, found her in such a Condition. *Dury* told her, she might thank her for it; but she should live to see some of her Children Dead, and her self upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child recovered.

This Deponent further testified. That her Daughter *Elizabeth*, being about the Age of ten Years, was taken in like manner as her first Child was, and in her Fits complained much of *Amy Dury*, and said that she did appear to her, and afflict her in such manner as the former. One day she found *Amy Dury* in her House, and thrusting her out of Doors, *Dury* said, *You need not be so angry, your Child won't live long.* And within three days the Child died. The Deponent added, that she her self, not long after was taken with such a Lameness in both her Legs, that she was forced to go upon Crutches, and she was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in *Dury* Guilty, *Durent* was restored unto the use

of her Limbs; and went home without her Crutches.]

III. As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, one Aged Eleven Years, the other Nine; the elder being in Court, was made utterly senseless, during all the time of the Trial, or at least speechless, by the direction of the Judge, *Duny* was privately brought to *Elizabeth Pacy*, and she touched her hand: whereupon the Child, without so much as seeing her, suddenly leap'd up and flew upon the Prisoner; the younger was too ill to be brought into the Assizes. But *Samuel Pacy*, their Father, testified, that his Daughter *Deborah* was taken with a sudden Lameness; and upon the grumbling of *Amy Duny*, for being denied something, where this Child was then sitting, the Child was taken with an extream pain in her stomach, like the pricking of Pins; and shrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather than a Rational Creature. The Physicians could not conjecture the cause of the Distemper; but *Amy Duny*, being a Woman of ill Frame, and the Child in Fits crying out of *Amy Duny*, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her Person, the Deponent suspected her, and procured her to be set in the Stocks. While she was there, she said in the hearing of two Witnesses, Mr. Pacy keeps a great stir about his Child, but let him stay till he has done as much by his Children as I have done by mine. And being asked what she had done to her Children, she answered, *She had been fain to open her Childs Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.* The Deponent added, that within two days the Fits of his Daughters were such, that they could not preserve either Life or Breath, without the help of a Tap. And that the Children cry'd out of *Amy Duny*, and of *Rose Cullender*, as afflicting them with her Apparition.

IV. The Fits of the Children were various. They would sometimes be Lame on one side, sometimes on t'other. Sometimes very sore, sometimes restored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extreamly, and with much Flegm, they would bring up crooked pins, and at one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would cast up a Pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of *Lord*, or *Jesus*, or *Christ*, but would fall into Fits; and say, *Amy Duny says, I must not use that Name.* When they came to the Name of *Satan* or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers upon the Book, crying out, *This bites, but it makes me speak right well!* The Children in their Fits would often Cry out, *There stands Amy Duny, or Rose Cullender;* and they would after-

The Wonders of the

afterwards relate, *That these Witches appearing before them, threatened them, that if they told of what they saw or heard, they would Torment them more than ever they did before.*

V. *Margaret Arnold*, the Sister to Mr. *Pacy*, Testified unto the like Sufferings being upon the Children, at her House, whither her Brother had removed them. And that sometimes, the Children (*only*) would see things like Mice, run about the House; and one of them suddenly snap'd one with the Tongue, and threw it into the Fire, where it screeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee flew at the Face of the younger Child, the Child fell into a Fit, and at last Vomited up a *Two penny Nail*, with a Broad Head; affirming, *That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her Mouth.* The Child would in like manner be assaulted with Flies, which brought crooked Pins unto her, and made her first swallow them, and then Vomit them. She one day caught an Invisible Mouse, and throwing it into the Fire, it flash'd like to Gun-Powder. None besides the Child saw the Mouse, but every one saw the Flash. She also declared out of her Fits, that in them, *Any Duty* much tempted her to destroy her self.

VI. As for *Ann Durent*, her Father testified, That upon a Discontent of *Rose Cullender*, his Daughter was taken with much Illness in her Stomach, and great and sore pains, like the pricking of Pins, and then Swooning Fits, from which recovering, she declared, *She had seen the Apparition of Rose Cullender, threatening to Torment her.* She likewise Vomited up divers Pins. The Maid was present at Court, but when *Cullender* looked upon her, she fell into such Fits, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin deposed the same.

VII. *Jane Bockin*, who was too weak to be at the Assizes, but her Mother Testified, that her Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fits, and Recovered of them, was now taken with a great pain in her Stomach, and New Swooning Fits. That she took little Food, but every day Vomitted Crooked Pins. In her first Fits, she would extend her Arms, and use postures as if she caught at something: and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find several pins diversely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would also maintain a Discourse with some that were invisibly present, when casting abroad her Arms, she would often say, *I will not have it!* but at last say, *Then I will have it!* and closing her hand, which when they presently after opened, a

Lath

Lath Nail was found in it. But her great Complaints were of being visited by the shapes of *Amy Duny*, and *Rose Cullender*.

VIII. As for *Susan Chandler*, her Mother Testified, That being at the Search of *Rose Cullender*, they found on her Belly a thing like a Teat, of an Inch long; which the said *Rose* ascribed to a strain. But near her privy parts they found three more, that were smaller than the former. At the end of the long Teat there was a little hole, which appeared as if newly Sucked; and upon straining it, a white Milky Matter issued out. The Deponent further said, That her Daughter being one day concerned at *Rose Cullenders* taking her by the hand she fell very sick, and at night cry'd out, *That Rose Cullender would come to Bed unto her*. Her Fits grew violent, and in the Intervals of them, she declared, *That she saw Rose Cullender in them, and once having a great Dog with her*. She also Vomited up crooked Pins; and when she was brought into Court, she fell into Fits. She recovered her self in some time, and was asked by the Court, whether she was in a condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She said she could, but having been Sworn, she fell into her Fits again, and *Burn her! Burn her!* were all the words that she could find Power to speak. Her Father likewise gave the same Testimony with her Mother, as to all but the Search.

IX. Here was the sum of the Evidence: which was not thought sufficient to Convict the Prisoners. For admitting the Children were Bewitched, yet, said he, it can never be apply'd unto the Prisoners, upon the Imagination of the Parties only Afflicted; inasmuch as no person whatsoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. *Brown*, a very Learned Person then present, gave his Opinion, that these Persons were bewitched. He added, that in *Denmark*, there had been lately a great discovery of Witches; who used the very same way of afflicting people, by conveying Pins and Nails into them. His opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did work upon the Bodys of Men and Women, upon a *Natural Foundation*; and that he did Extraordinarily afflict them, with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject unto.

X. The Experiment about the *Usefulness*, yea, or *Lawsfulness* whereof Good Men have sometimes disputed, was divers Times made, that though the afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their Fits, yet upon the *Touch* of the accused, they would

to screech out, and fly up, as not upon any other Persons. And yet it was also found that once upon the touch of an innocent person, the like effect followed, which put the whole Court unto a stand? although a small Reason was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to strengthen the Credit of what had been already produced against the Prisoners, one *John Soam* testified, that bringing home his Hay in Three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of *Rose Cullenders* House, whereupon she flew out, with violent Threatnings against the Deponent. The other two Carts, passed by twice, Loaded, that day afterwards; but the Cart which touched *Cullenders* House, was twice or thrice that day overturned. Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which leads out of the Field, the Cart struck so fast in the Gates Head, that they could not possibly get it thro', but were forced to cut down the Post of the Gate, to make the Cart pass thro', altho' they could not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-Post. They afterwards did with much Difficulty get it home to the Yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they should unload. They were fain to unload at a great Distance; and when they were Tired, the Noses of them that came to assist them, would burst forth a Bleeding; so they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any difficulty.

XII. *Robert Sherringham* also Testified, that the Axle Tree of his Cart, happening in passing, to break some part of *Rose Cullenders* House, in her Anger, at it, she vehemently threatened him, *His Horses should suffer for it*. And within a short time all his Four Horses dyed; after which he sustained many other Losses in the sudden dying of his Cattle. He was also taken with a Lameness in his Limbs; and so vexed with Lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigness, that no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up two Suits of Apparel.

XIII. As for *Amy Duny*, 'twas Testified by one *Richard Spencer* that he heard her say, *That the Devil would not let her Rest, until she were Revenged on the Wife of Cornelius Sandswel*. And that *Sandswel* testified, that her Poultry dy'd suddainly, upon *Amy Dunys* threatening of them; and that her Husbands Chimney fell, quickly after *Duny* had spoken of such a disaster. And a Firkin of Fish could not be kept from falling into the Water, upon suspicious words of *Dunys*.

XIV. The Judge told the Jury, they were to inquire now, first, Whether these Children were Bewitched; and secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were such Creatures as Witches; for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such Persons. He prayed the God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for *To condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*

The Jury in half an hour brought them in Guilty upon the several Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next Morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord Chief Justice, and were in as good health as ever in their Lives; being restored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were executed, and Confessed nothing; which indeed will not be wondered by them, who Consider and Enter-tain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, *That the Unpardonable Sin, is most usually Committed by Professors of the Christian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.*

We will now proceed unto several of the like Trials among our selves.

I.

THE

TRYAL of G. B.

At a Court of

OYER and TERMINER.

Held in SALEM. 1692.

GLad should I have been, if I had never known the Name of this Man; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first Letters of his Name. But the Government requiring some Account of his Trial to be inserted in this Book, it becomes me with all Obedience to submit unto the Order.

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I. This

I. This G. B. Was Indicted for Witchcraft, and in the Prosecution of the Charge against him, he was accused by five or six of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miseries; he was accused by Eight of the Confessing Witches, as being an head Actor at some of their Rendezvouzes, and one who had the Promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be Erected: He was accused by Nine Persons for extraordinary Lifting, and such feats of strength, as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such things he was accused, until about thirty Testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these judged the half of what might have been considered for his Conviction: However they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reason, by the Judicious Gaule, in that Case directed.

II. The Court being sensible, that the Testimonies of the Parties Bewitched, used to have a Room among the Suspicions or Presumptions, brought in against one Indicted for Witchcraft; there were now heard the Testimonies of several Persons, who were most notoriously Bewitched, and every day Tortured by invisible Hands, and these now all charged the Spectres of G. B. to have a share in their Torments. At the Examination of this G. B. the Bewitched People were grievously harrassed with Præternatural Mischiefs, which could not possibly be Dissembled; and they all still ascribed it unto the endeavours of G. B. to Kill them. And now upon the Tryal of one of the Bewitched Persons, testif'd that in her Agonies, a little black Haired Man came to her, saying his Name was B. and bidding her set her hand to a Book which he shewed unto her; and bragging that he was a Conjuror, above the ordinary Rank of Witches: That he often persecuted her with the offer of that Book, saying, *She should be well, and need fear no Body if she would but sign it;* But he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, because of her denying so to do. The Testimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with these; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting was one of the ways which the Witches used for the vexing the Sufferers; when they cried out of G. B. Biting them, the print of their Teeth would be seen on the Flesh of the Complainers, and just such a set of Teeth as G. B's would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of some other Men. Others of them testified, that in their Torments, G. B. tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him

him with a Sound of Trumpet, Summoning of other Witches who quickly after the Sound, would come from all Quarters unto the Rendezvous. One of them falling into a Trance, affirmed, that G. B. had carried her away into a very high Mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and said, *He would give them all to her if she would write in his Book; but she told him, They were none of his to give; and refused the Motions; enduring of much misery for that refusal.*

It cost the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depositions, they would for a long time be taken with Fits, that made them incapable of saying any thing. The chief Judge asked the Prisoner, who he thought hindred these Witnesses from giving their Testimonies? And he answered, *He supposed it was the Devil.* That Honourable Person replied, *How comes the Devil then to be so loath to have any Testimony born against you?* Which cast him into very great Confusion.

III. It has been a frequent thing for the bewitched People to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of Murdred People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always affright the beholders more than all the other spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out, of being Murdred by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the Persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considered, that once or twice, these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shewn themselves to the Bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusual or unsuspected, have attended the Death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions accosting of the Bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such Persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murthers of those very Persons, altho' these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the Bewitched, had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said, that they were G. B's two Wives, and that he had been the death of them; and that the Magistrates must be told of it, before whom if B. upon his Trial denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in Court. Now G. B. had been infamous for the barbarous usage of his two late wives, all the Country over. Moreover, it was testified, the Spectre of G. B.

threatning of the Sufferers, told them, he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann*. And it was noted, that these were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for his being serviceable at *Salem Village*, from whence himself had in ill Terms removed some years before: And that when they dy'd, which was long since, there were some odd Circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendants there suspect something of Witchcraft, tho none Imagined from what Quarter it should come.

Well, *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the Bewitched Persons was cast into Horror at the Ghost of *B's* two Deceased Wives then appearing before him, and crying for Vengeance against him. Hereupon several of the Bewitched Persons were successively called in, who all not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their Horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed that he had before him. But he, tho much appalled, utterly denied that he discerned any thing of it; nor was it any part of his Conviction.

IV. Judicious Writers have assigned it a great place in the Conviction of *Witches*, when Persons are Impeached by other notorious *Witches*, to be as ill as themselves; especially, if the Persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now, as there might have been Testimonies enough of *G. B's* Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, tho by his Profession, singularly obliged thereunto; so, there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several Persons, who confessed their own having been horrible *Witches*, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly Tortured by the Devils and other *Witches* even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the Pains of many Deaths for their Confessions.

These now testified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the Person who had Seduced, and Compelled them into the snares of Witchcraft: That he promised them *Fine Cloaths*, for doing it; that he brought Poppers to them, and Thorns to stick into those Poppers, for the Afflicting of other People; and that he exhorted them with the rest of the Crew, to Bewitch all *Salem Village*, but before to do it Gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancashire Witches* were condemned, I don't remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the Bewitched, and than that of some that confessed.

We see so much already against G. B. But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had been already produced Credible.

V. A famous Divine recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; *The Testimony of the party Bewitched, whether Pinning or Dying; together with the joyn't Oaths of sufficient Persons that have seen certain Prodigious Pranks or Feats wrought by the party accused.* Now God had been pleas'd so to leave this G. B. that he had ensur'd himself by several Instances, which he had formerly given of a Preternatural strength, and which were now produced against him. He was a very Puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a Gyant. A Gun of about seven foot Barrel, and so heavy that strong Men could not stedily hold it out with both hands; there were several Testimonies, given in by persons of Credit and Honour, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock, with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms end. G. B. in his Vindication, was so foolish as to say, *That an Indian was there, and held it out at the same time*; Whereas none of the Spectators ever saw any such Indian; but they suppos'd, the *Black Man*, (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an Indian) might give him that Assistance: There was Evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up a whole Barrel filled with *Malasses* or *Cider*, in very disadvantageous Postures, and carrying of them through the difficult places out of a Canoo to the Shore.

Yea, there are two Testimonies, that G. B. with only putting the Forefinger of his Right Hand into the Muzzle of an heavy Gun, a Fowling piece of about six or seven foot Barrel, did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms end; a Gun which the Deponents thought strong men could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the But-end, as is usual. Indeed, one of these Witnesses was over perswaded by some persons, to be out of the way upon G. B's Tryal; but he came afterward with Sorrow for his withdraw, and gave his Testimony: Nor were either of these Witnesses made use of as Evidences in the Trial.

VI. There came in several Testimonies relating to the Domestic Affairs of G. B. which had a very hard aspect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill man; but also confirm'd the belief of the Character, which had been already fastned on him.

'Twas testifi'd, that keeping his two Successive Wives in a strange kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad

abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them; That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harsh dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him, to promise that in case Death should happen, they would say nothing of it; That he used all means to make his Wives write, sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant, never to reveal any of his Secrets; That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested, and that many such things have been whispering among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies relating to the Death of People whereby the Consciences of an Impartial Jury were convinced that G. B. had Bewitched the Persons mentioned in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such passages, in this, as well as in all the succeeding Tryals, because the Scribes who took notice of them, have not supplied me.

VII. One Mr. Ruck, Brother in Law to this G. B. testified, that G. B. and himself, and his Sister, who was G. B's Wife, going out for two or three Miles to gather Strawberries, Ruck with his Sister, the Wife of G. B. Rode home very Softly, with G. B. on Foot in their Company, G. B. step'd aside a little into the Bushes; whereupon they halted and Hollo'd for him. He not answering, they went homewards, with a quickened pace, without expectation of seeing him in a considerable while; and yet when they were got near home, to their Astonishment, they found him on foot with them, having a Basket of Strawberries. G. B. immediately then fell to Chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Brother, of him, on the Road; which when they wondred at, he said, *He knew their Thoughts.* Ruck being startled at that, made some Reply, intimating, that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, *My God makes known your Thoughts unto me.* The Prisoner now at the Bar had nothing to answer, unto what was thus witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck, and his Wife left a Man with him, when they left him.* Which Ruck now affirmed to be false; and when the Court asked G. B. *What the mans name was?* his Countenance was much altered; nor could he say, who 'twas. But the Court began to think, that he then step'd aside, only that by the assistance of the *Black Man*, he might put on his *Invisibilty*, and in that *Fascinating Mist*, gratifie his own Jealous Humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendering themselves Invisible, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend, that they sometimes

times are Masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is Demonstration, that they often render many other things utterly Invisible.

VIII. *Faltering, faulty, unconstant, and contrary Answers upon judicial and deliberate Examination*, are counted some unlucky Symptoms of Guilt, in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Prisoner more eminent for them, than G. B. both at his Examination and on his Trial. His *Tergiversations, Contradictions, and Falshoods*, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that had heard some things that he could not prove Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho he had many times before, granted, not only that there are Witches, but also, that the present sufferings of the Country are the effects of horrible Witches, yet he now goes to evince it, *That there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to Torment other People at a distance.* This Paper was Transcribed out of *Ady*; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which, his Evasion afterwards, was, That a Gentleman gave him the Discourse in a Manuscript, from whence he Transcribed it.

IX. The Jury brought him in Guilty: But when he came to Die, he utterly denied the Fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.

II. *The Tryal of Briger Bishop, alias Oliver, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Salem, June 2. 1692.*

I. **S**HE was Indicted for Bewitching of several persons in the Neighbourhood; the Indictment being drawn up according to the form in such Cases usual. And pleading, *Not Guilty*, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of miseries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all the beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used, was the Testimony of the Bewitched; whereof several testified, That the *Shape* of the Prisoner did oftentime very grievously Pinch them, Choak them, Bite them, and Assist them; urging them to write their Names in a Book, which the said Spectre called *Ours*. One of them did further testify, That it was the *Shape* of this Prisoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River-side, threatened there

to Drown her, if she did not Sign to the Book mentioned : which yet she refused. Others of them did also testifie, That the said *Shape*, did in her Threats brag to them, that she had been the Death of sundry Persons, then by her named; that she had *Ridden* a man then likewise Named. Another testified, the Apparition of the *Ghosts* unto the Spectre of *Bishop*, cryed out, *You Murthered us!* About the Truth whereof, there was in the Matter of Fact but too much suspicion.

II. It was testified, That at the Examination of the Prisoner before the Magistrates, the Bewitched were extreemly tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no Collusion in the business. But upon the Touch of her Hand upon them, when they lay in their Swoons, they would immediately Revive; and not upon the Touch of any ones else. Moreover, upon some Special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her Head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like Postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, that she said, *She could not be troubled to see the Afflicted thus tormented.*

III. There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at the place, where a bewitched person said, the *Shape* of this *Bishop* stood, the bewitched cried out, *That he had tore her Coat*, in the place then particularly specified; and the Womans Coat was found to be Torn in that very place.

IV. One *Deliverance Hobbs*, who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres, for her Confession. And she now testified, That this *Bishop* tempted her to Sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confess'd. She affirmed, that it was the *Shape* of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this *Bishop* was at a General Meeting of the Witches, in a Field at *Salem Village*, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament in Bread and Wine then administred.

V. To render it further unquestionable that the Prisoner at the Bar, was the Person truly charged in THIS *Witchcraft*, there were produced many Evidences of OTHER *Witchcrafts*, by her perpetrated. For Instance, *John Cook* testified, That above five or six Years ago, one Morning, about Sun rise, he was in his Chamber assaulted, by the *Shape* of this Prisoner; Which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him with a Blow

a Blow on the side of the Head: And that on the same day, about Noon, the same *Shape* walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his Hand, into the Lap of his Mother, six or eight Foot from him.

VI. *Samuel Gray* testif'd, That about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of Light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle, and the Bed-side, which look'd upon him. He rose, and it vanish'd; tho he found the Doors all fast. Looking out at the Entry-door, he saw the same Woman, in the same Garb again; and said, *In God's Name, what do you come for!* He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months, died in a sad Condition. He knew not *Bishop*, nor her Name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance, and Apparel, and All Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this *Bishop*, which had thus troubled him.

VII. *John Bly* and his Wife testif'd, That he bought a Sow of *Edward Bishop*, the Husband of the Prisoner; and was to pay the Price agreed, unto another Person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the Money, quarrell'd with Bly. Soon after which, the Sow was taken with strange Fits; Jumping, Leaping, and Knocking her Head against the Fence; she seem'd Blind and Deaf, and would neither Eat, nor be Suck'd. VVhereupon, a Neighbour said, she believed the Creature was *Over-looked*; and sundry other Circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that *Bishop* had bewitched it.

VIII. *Richard Coman* testif'd, That eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a Light burning in the Room, he was annoy'd with the Apparition of this *Bishop*, and of two more that were strangers to him, who came and oppress'd him so, that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else; and that he was the Night after molested again, in the like manner; the said *Bishop* taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the bed. His Kinsman offered for this cause to Lodg with him; and that Night, as they were awake, discoursing together, this *Coman* was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome; his Kinsman being at the same time struck Speechless, and unable to move Hand or Foot. He had laid his

Sword by him; which these unhappy *Spectres* did strive much to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his House; but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir; until at last, one of the People crying out, *what's the Matter?* The *Spectres* all vanished.

IX. *Samuel Shattock* testifi'd, That in the Year 1680, this *Bridget Bishop*, often came to his House upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of Mischief. Whereupon, presently his eldest Child, which was of a promising Health and Sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftner that *Bishop* came to the House, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an invisible hand, and in like sort knock his Face against the sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this *Bishop* would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not imagin any use; and when she paid him a piece of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen any more. The Child was immediately, hereupon, taken with terrible Fits, whereupon his Friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almost nothing but Cry and Sleep for several Months together; and at length his Understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him, one was, That there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the World could never fetch him off. About 17 or 18 years after, there came a Stranger to *Shattock's* House, who seeing the Child, said, *This poor Child is Bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off, who is a Witch.* He added, *your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her Heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child.* He then remembred, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Terms, a little before the Child was taken ill. The abovesaid Stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him, to *Bishop's* House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and slew also upon the boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came, and saying, *Thou Rogue; what dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said, before he went, That he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascrib'd unto *Witchcraft*; and wherein he would be
thrown

thrown still into the *Fire* or the *Water*, if he were not constantly look'd after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.

X. *John Louder* testified, That upon some little *Controversy* with *Bishop* about her Fowls going well to Bed, he did awake in the Night by *Moon-light*, and did see clearly the likeness of this *Woman* grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him, unable to help himself, till near Day. He told *Bishop* of this; but she deny'd it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a *Lord's Day*, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black *Pig* approach him; at which, he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black Thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The *Body* was like that of a *Monkey*, the Feet like a *Cocks*, but the Face much like to that of a *Man*. He being so extremely affrighted, that he could not speak, this Monster spoke to him, and said, *I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance; and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, tho the Doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my Counsel!* He then struck at it with a Stick, but struck only the Groundsel, and broke the Stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently Disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the *Back door*, and spied this *Bishop* in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had no power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon, returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before; which *Goblin* was now going to fly at him; whereat he cry'd out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* So it sprang back, and flew over the *Apple-Tree*, shaking many Apples off the Tree, in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its Feet against the *Stomach of the Man*; whereon he was then struck Dumb, and so continued for 3 days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, *Bishop* deny'd that she knew this Depo-
nent: yet their own Orchards joyn'd; and they had often had their little Quarrels for some years together.

XI. *William Staoy* testified, That receiving Money of this *Bishop*, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of three Rods from her, and looking for his Money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Bishop*, asked him, whether his Father would grind her Grist for her? He demanded why? She re-
ply'd,

ply'd, *Because Folks count me a Witch, He Answer'd, No question but he will grind it for you.* Being then gone about six Rods from her, with a small Load in his Cart, suddenly the Off-wheel stump'd, and sunk down into an hole, upon plain ground; so that the Deponent was forc'd to get help for the Recovering of the Wheel: But stepping back to look for the hole, which might give him this Disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after, he was waked in the night; but it seem'd as light as day; and he perfectly saw the shape of this Bishop in the Room, troubling of him; but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd Bishop afterwards with it, and she deny'd it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by Bishop, as he was in a dark night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the Ground, and thrown against a Stone Wall: After that, he was again hoisted up and thrown down a Bank, at the end of his House. After this, again passing by this Bishop, his Horse with a small Load, (driving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a Bag of Corn, of about two Bushels, could not budg it with all his Might.

Many other Pranks of this Bishop's, this Deponent was ready to testify. He also testifi'd, That he verily believ'd, the said Bishop was the Instrument of his Daughter Priscilla's Death; of which suspicion, Pregnant Reasons were assigned.

XII. To crown all, John Bly and William Bly testifi'd, That being employ'd by Bridget Bishop, to help to take down the Cellar-wall of the Old House, wherein she formerly lived, they did in holes of the said Old Wall, find several Poppets, made up of Rags and Hogs-bristles, with headless Pins in them, the Points being outward; whereof she could now give no Account unto the Court, that was reasonable or tolerable.

XIII. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of gross Lying in the Court, several times, while she was making her Plea; but besides this, a Jury of Women found a Preternatural Teat upon her Body: But upon a 2d search, within 3 or 4 hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an Account of other People whom this Woman had afflicted; and there might have been many more, if they had been inquired for; but there was no need of them.

XIV. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertain'd. As this Woman was under a Guard, passing by the great and spacious Meeting-house of Salem, she gave a Look towards the House, and immediately a Daemon invisibly entring the Meeting-house, tore down a part of it; so that tho there

was

was no Person to be seen there, yet the People, at the Noise, running in, found a Board, which was strongly fasten'd, with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.

III. *The Tryal of Susanna Martin, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by Adjournment at Salem, June 29. 1692.*

I. *Susanna Martin*, pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of *Witchcraft*, brought in against her, there were produced the Evidences of many Persons very sensibly and grievously Bewitched, who all complained of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the Person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. And now, as well as in the other Tryals, there was an Extraordinary Endeavour by Witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers from giving in their Complaints, which the Court was forced with much Patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

II. There was now also an Account given of what passed at her first Examination before the Magistrates. The Cast of her Eye, then striking the afflicted People to the ground, whether they saw that Cast or no; there were these among other Passages between the Magistrates and the Examinee.

Magistrate. Pray, what ails these People?

Martin. I don't know.

Mag. But what do you think ails them?

Mar. I don't desire to spend my Judgment upon it.

Mag. Don't you think they are bewitch'd?

Mar. No, I do not think they are.

Mag. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

Mar. No, My Thoughts are my own, when they are in, but when they are out they are anothers. Their Master——

Mag. Their Master! Who do you think is their Master?

Mar. If they be dealing in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Mag. Well, what have you done towards this?

Mar. Nothing at all.

Mag. Why, 'tis you, or your appearance.

Mar. I cannot help it.

Mag. Is it not your Master? how comes your Appearance to hurt these?

Mar. How do I know? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel*, a glorified Saint, may appear in any ones Shape.

It was then also noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the ground

ground. And, when she was asked the Reason of it, she said, I cannot tell; *it may be, the Devil bears me more malice than another.*

III. The Court accounted themselves alarmed by these Things, to enquire further into the Conversation of the Prisoner; and see what there might occur, to render these *Accusations* further credible. Whereupon, *John Allen* of *Salisbury*, testified, That he refusing, because of the weakness of his Oxen, to Cart some *Staves* at the request of this *Martin*, she was displeased at it, and said, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen should never do him much more Service.* Whereupon this Deponent said, *Dost thou threaten me, thou Old Witch? I'll throw thee into the Brook:* Which to avoid, she flew over the Bridge, and escaped. But, as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, so that he was forced to Unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen, with many more, upon *Salisbury Beach*, where Cattel did use to get flesh. In a few days, all the Oxen upon the Beach were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the Mouth of *Merimack River*, and not returned; but the next day they were found come ashore upon *Plum Island*. They that sought them, used all imaginable gentleness, but they would still run away with a violence, that seemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the Mouth of *Merimack River*; when they ran right into the Sea, swimming as far as they could be seen. One of them then swam back again, with a Swiftnes, amazing to the Beholders, who stood ready to receive him, and help up his tired Carcass: But the Beast ran furiously up into the Island, and from thence thorough the Marshes, up into *Newberry Town*, and so up into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Amesbury*. So that, of 14 good Oxen, there was only this saved. The rest were all cast up, some in one place, and some in another, drowned.

IV. *John Atkinson* testified, That he exchanged a Cow, with a Son of *Susanna Martin's*, whereat she mutter'd, and was unwilling he should have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamstring'd her, and Halter'd her, she, of a Tame Creature, grew so mad, that they could scarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were fastned unto her, and though she were ty'd fast unto a Tree, yet she made her escape, and gave them such further trouble, as they could ascribe to no cause but Witchcraft.

V. *Bernard Peaché* testified, That being in Bed, on the Lord's day at Night, he heard a scrabbling at the Window, whereat he then saw *Susanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the Floor. She took hold of this Deponent's Feet, and drawing his Body up into an heap, she lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither speak nor stir. At length, when he could begin

to move, he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his Mouth he bit three of her Fingers, as he judged, unto the Bone: Whereupon she went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the Door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the People of the House, to advise them of what passed; and he himself did follow her. The People saw her not, but there being a Bucket at the left-hand of the Door, there was a drop of Blood found upon it; and several more drops of Blood upon the Snow newly fallen abroad: There was likewise the print of her 2 Feet just without the Threshold; but no more sign of any Footing further off.

At another time this Deponent was desired by the Prisoner, to come unto an husking of Corn, at her House; and she said, *If he did not come, it were better that he did!* He went not; but the Night following, *Susanna Martin*, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them said, *Here he is!* but he having a Quarter-staff, made a blow at them. The roof of the Barn, broke his blow; but following them to the Window, he made another blow at them, and struck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he saw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin had a broken Head*; but the Deponent could say nothing to that.

The said *Peache* also testifi'd, the bewitching the Cattle to death upon *Martin's* Discontents.

VI. *Robert Downer* testifi'd, That, this Prisoner being some years ago prosecuted at Court for a Witch, he then said unto her, *He believed she was a Witch*. Whereat, she being dissatisfied, said, *That some She-Devil would shortly fetch him away!* Which words were heard by others, as well as himself. The Night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeness of a Cat which flew upon him; took fast hold of his Throat; lay on him a considerable while, and almost killed him. At length he remembered what *Susanna Martin* had threatened the day before; and with much striving he cried out, *Avoid, thou She-Devil! In the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Avoid!* Whereupon it left him, leapt on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there also came in several Testimonies, that before ever *Downer* spoke a Word of this Accident, *Susanna Martin*, and her Family, had related, how this downer had been handled!

VII. *John Kembal* testified, that *Susanna Martin*, upon a causeless Quarrel, had threatened him, about a certain Cow of his, *That she should never do him any more good*; and it came to pass accordingly. For soon after, the Cow was found stark dead on the dry Ground.

Ground, without any Dissemper to be discerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a strange Death upon more of his Cattle, whereof he lost in one Spring the value of 30 l. But the said *John Kembal* had a further Testimony to give in against the Prisoner which was truly admirable.

Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applied himself to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her House. But she not letting him have his choice, he said, he would supply himself then at one *Blezdels*. Having mark'd a Puppy, which he lik'd at *Blezdels*, he met *George Martin*, the Husband of the Prisoner, going by, who asked him, *Whether he would not have one of his Wives Puppies?* and he answered, *No*. The same Day, one *Edmund Elliot*, being at *Martin's* House, heard *George Martin* relate, where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had said. Whereupon *Susanna Martin*, replied, *If I live, I'll give him Puppies enough!* Within a few days after, this *Kembal*, coming out of the Woods, there arose a little black Cloud in the N. W. and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon Stumps of Trees, that were before him, albeit he had a broad Plain Cart-way, before him; but tho he had his Ax also on his Shoulders to endanger him in his Falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-house, there appeared unto him, a little thing like a Puppy, of a Darkish Colour; and it shot backward and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to use all possible endeavours of cutting it with his Ax; but he could not Hit it: the Puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him it seemed into the Ground. Going a little further, there appeared unto him a black Puppy, somewhat bigger than the first, but as black as a Cole. Its motions were quicker than those of his Ax; it flew at his Belly, and away; then at his Throat; so over his Shoulders one way, and then over his shoulders another way. His Heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himself, and call'd upon God in his Distress; and naming the Name of JESUS CHRIST, it vanished away at once. The Deponent spoke not one word of these Accidents, for fear of Affrighting his Wife. But the next Morning, *Edmund Elliot*, going into *Martin's* House, this Woman asked him where *Kembal* was? He replied, *At home, a Bed, for ought he knew*. She returned, *They say he was frighted last Night*. *Elliot* asked, *With what?* She Answered, *With Puppies*. *Elliot* asked, *Where she heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it?* She rejoyned, *About the Town*. Altho *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no Creature Living.

VIII. *William Brown* testified, That *Heaven* having blessed him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Susanna Martin*; but when she approach'd just unto her, *Martin* vanished out of sight, and left her extremely affrighted. After which time, the said *Martin*, often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds, that sorely peck'd and prick'd her; and sometimes, a Bunch, like a Pullet's Egg, would rise in her Throat ready to choak her till she cry'd out, *Witch, you shan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer, on her behalf; whereupon her Trouble ceas'd; she saw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church, instead of their Fast, gave Thanks for her Deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being Summon'd to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this *Martin*, quickly thereupon, this *Martin* came behind her, while she was milking her Cow, and said unto her, *For thy defaming me at the Court, I'll make thee the miserablest Creature in the World.* Soon after which, she fell into a strange kind of distemper, and became horribly frantick, and incapable of any reasonable Actions; the Physicians declaring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly Bewitched her; and in that Condition she now remained.

IX. *Sarah Atkinson* testified, That *Susanna Martin* came from *Amesbury* to their House at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Season, when it was not fit for any to Travel. She came (as she said, to *Atkinson*) all that long way on Foot. She brag'd and shew'd how dry she was; nor could it be perceived that so much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinson* was amazed at it; and professed, that she should her self have been wet up to the knees, if she had then come so far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She scorn'd to be Drabbled!* It was noted, that this Testimony upon her Trial, cast her in a very singular Confusion.

X. *John Pressly* testified, That being one Evening very unaccountably bewildred, near a Field of *Martins*, and several times, as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a marvellous Light, about the bigness of an Half-bushel, near two Rod, out of the way. He gave it near forty blows; and felt it a palpable Substance. But going from it, his Heels were struck up, and he was laid with his Back on the Ground, sliding, as he thought, into a Pit; from whence he recover'd by taking hold on the Bush; altho afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having, after his recovery, gone five or six Rod, he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his Left hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his return; but at length he got home extremely affrighted. The next day, it was upon enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition, by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testified by this Deponent, That after he had given in some Evidence against *Susanna Martin*, many years ago, she gave him foul words about it; and said, *He should never prosper more*; particularly, *That he should never have more than two Cows*; that tho he was never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them. And that from that very day to this, namely for twenty years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having any more.

XI. *Jervis Ring* testified, That about seven years ago, he was oftentimes and grievously oppressed in the Night, but saw not who troubled him; until at last he lying perfectly Awake, plainly saw *Susanna Martin* approach him. She came to him, and forceably bit him by the Finger; so that the Print of the bite is now, so long after, to be seen upon him.

XII. But besides all these Evidences, there was a most wonderful Account of one *Joseph Ring*, produced on this occasion.

This Man has been strangely carried about by Demons, from one Witch-meeting to another, for near two years together; and for one quarter of this time, they have made him, and keep him Dumb; tho he is now again able to speak. There was one *T. H.* who having as 'tis judged, a design of engaging this *Joseph Ring* in a snare of Devilism, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in debt unto him.

Afterwards this poor Man would be visited with unknown shapes, and this *T. H.* sometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown Places, where he saw Meetings, Feastings, Dancings; and after his return, wherein they hurried him along through the Air, he gave Demonstrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been so transported. When he was brought unto these hellish Meetings, one of the first things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the Back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of stirring out of the place, till they should release him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who presented him a Book, where-to he would have him set his Hand; promising to him, that he should then have even what he would; and presenting him with all the delectable Things, Persons and Places, that he could imagine. But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful Shapes, Noises and Screeches, which almost scared him out of his Wits. Once with the Book, there was a Pen offered him, and an Inkhorn with Liquor in it, that seem'd like Blood: But he never toucht it.

This Man did now affirm, That he saw the Prisoner at several of those Hellish Rendezvouses.

Note, This Woman was one of the most impudent, scurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World; and she did now throughout her whole Tryal, discover her self to be such an one. Yet when she was asked, what she had

had to say for her self! Her chief Plea was, *That she had lead a most virtuous and holy Life.*

IV. *The Tryal of Elizabeth How, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, Held by Adjournment at Salem, June 30. 1692.*

I. **E** *Elizabeth How* Pleading Not Guilty to the Indictment of *Witchcraft* then charged upon her; the Court according to the usual Proceedings of the Courts in *England*, in such Cases, began with hearing the Depositions of several afflicted People, who were grievously tortured by sensible and evident *Witchcrafts*, and all complained of the Prisoner, as the cause of their Trouble. It was also found that the Sufferer was not able to bear her Look; as likewise that in their greatest Swoons, they distinguished her Touch from other Peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of People to whom the Shape of this *How*, gave Trouble nine or ten Years ago.

II. It has been an usual thing for the Bewitched Persons, at the same time that the Spectres representing the *Witches*, troubled them, to be visited with Apparitions of Ghosts, pretending to have been Murdered by the *Witches* then represented. And sometimes the Confessions of the *Witches* afterwards acknowledged those very Murders, which these Apparitions charged upon them, tho they had never heard what Informations had been given by the Sufferers.

There were such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present Sufferers; and the Ghosts affirmed, that this *How* had Murder'd them: Which things were fear'd, but not prov'd.

III. This *How* had made some attempts of joyning to the Church, at Ipswich, several Years ago; but she was denied an admission into that holy Society; partly through a Suspicion of *Witchcraft*, then urg'd against her. And there now came in Testimony of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some who had been Instrumental to bar her from the Communion, whereupon she was *Excommunicated*.

IV. There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Stafford*, That his Wife had conceiv'd an extream Aversion to this *How*, on the reports of her *Witchcrafts*; But *How* one day taking her by the hand, and laying, *I believe you are ignorant of the great Scandal I lie under, by an evil Report raised upon me. She immediately unreasonably and unprovokedly, even like one Enchanted, began to take this Woman's part. How being soon afterwards propounded, as desiring an Admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the Pious Brethren were dissatisfied about her. The Elders appointed a Meeting, to hear Matters objected against her; and no Arguments in the World*

could hinder this good Wife *Stafford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise, with much ado, that she would not go to the Church-meeting, yet she could not refrain going thither also. *How's* affairs there were so canvased, that she came off rather guilty than cleared; nevertheless, good Wife *Stafford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and saying, *Tho' you are condemned before Men, you are justified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very strange manner, ranting, raving, raging, and crying out, *Goody How must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint; and tho' she be condemn'd before Men, she is justified before God.* So she continued for the space of two or three Hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cry'd out, *Ha! I was mistaken;* and afterwards again repeated, *Ha! I was mistaken!* Being asked by a stander-by, *Wherein?* She replied, *I thought Goody How had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch: She has bewitched me, and my Child, and we shall never be well till there be a Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church.* And *How* said afterwards, that she was very sorry to see *Stafford* at the Church-meeting mentioned. *Stafford* after this, declar'd her self to be afflicted by the shape of *How*, and from that shape she endured many Miseries.

V. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner, testified, that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination, as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle were bewitched to Death, leaping three or four Foot high, turning about, speaking, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear for an use, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife, was taken very Numb, and so it remained, and full of Pain, for several Days, being not well at this very time. And he suspected the Prisoner for the Author of it.

VI. *Nehemiah Abbot* testified, that unusual and mischievous Accidents would befall his Cattle, when ever he had any Difference with this Prisoner. Once particularly she wish'd his Ox Choak'd; and within a little while, that Ox was Ghoak'd, with a Turnep in his Throat. At another time, refusing to lend his Horse at the request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural manner abused. And several other odd things of that kind were Testified.

VII. There came in Testimony, that one Good-wife *Sherwin*, upon some Difference with *How*, was bewitched; and that she Died, charging this *How* of having an hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischiev'd, spoil'd and spilt, upon their displeasing of her.

The things in themselves were trivial, but there being such a course of them, it made them the more considered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her Testimony, that a little after her Father had been employ-
ed

ed in gathering an account of *How's* Conversation, they once and again lost great quantities of Drink out of their Vessels, in such a manner, as they could ascribe to nothing but Witchcraft. Also, that *How* giving her some Apples, when she had eaten of them, she was taken with a very strange kind of Amaze, insomuch that she knew not what she said or did.

VIII. There was likewise a cluster of Depositions, that one *Isaac Cummings* refusing to lend his Mare unto the Husband of this *How*, the Mare was within a day or two taken in a strange condition: The Beast seem'd much abused, being bruised as if she had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover, One using a Pipe of Tobacco for the Cure of the Beast, a blue Flame issued out of her, took hold of her Hair, and not only spread and burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have set the Barn on fire, and the Mare died very suddenly.

IX. *Timothy Pearley* and his Wife, testified not only unaccountable Mischiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of Differences with this Prisoner: but also, that they had a Daughter destroyed by Witchcrafts, which Daughter still charged *How* as the cause of her Affliction. And it was noted, that she would be struck down whenever *How* were spoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water in her strange Fits: Tho' her Father had corrected her for charging *How* with bewitching her; yet, (as was testified by others also) she said she was sure of it, and must die standing to it. Accordingly she charged *How* to her very death, and said, Tho' *How* could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet she could not hurt her Soul: And, That the truth of this Matter would appear, when she should be dead and gone.

X. *Francis Lane* testified, That being hired by the Husband of this *How*, to get him a parcel of Posts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearley* to assist him. This Prisoner then told *Lane*, That she believed the Posts and Rails would not do, because *John Pearley* helped him; but that if he had got them alone, without *John Pearley's* help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Posts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the ends, they, tho' good and sound, yet unaccountably broke off, so that *Lane* was forced to get thirty or forty more. And this Prisoner being informed of it, she said, She told him so before, because *Pearley* helped about them.

XI. Afterwards there came in the Confessions of several other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of those, who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River at *Newbury-Falls*: before which he made them there kneel down before the brink of the River and worship him.

V. *The Tryal of Martha Carrier, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held by adjournment at Salem, August 2. 1692.*

I. **M**artha Carrier was Indicted for the bewitching certain Persons, according to the Form usual in such Cases, pleading *Not Guilty* to her Indictment; there were first brought in a considerable number of the bewitched Persons, who not only made the Court sensible of an Horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed, That it was *Martha Carrier*, or her shape, that grievously tormented them, by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking of them. It was farther deposed, that while this *Carrier* was on her Examination before the Magistrates, the poor People were so tortured, that every one expected their Death upon the very spot, but that upon the binding of *Carrier* they were eased. Moreover, the look of *Carrier* then laid the afflicted People for dead; and her touch, if her Eye at the same time were off them, raised them again: Which things were also now seen upon her Tryal. And it was testified, that upon the mention of some having their Necks twisted almost round by the shape of this *Carrier*, she replied, *It's no matter tho' their Necks had been twisted quite off.*

II. Before the Tryal of this Prisoner, several of her own Children had frankly and fully confessed, not only that they were Witches themselves, but that this their Mother had made them so. This Confession they made with great shews of repentance, and with much demonstration of truth. They related Place, Time, Occasion; they gave an account of Journeys, Meetings and Mischiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they said. Nevertheless this Evidence was not produced against the Prisoner at the Bar, inasmuch as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.

III. *Benjamin Abbot* gave his Testimony, That last March was a twelve Month, this *Carrier* was very angry with him, upon laying out some Land, near her Husband's: Her Expressions in this Anger, were, *That she would stick as close to Abbot, as the Bark stuck to the Tree; and that he should repent of it afore seven Years came to an end, so as Dr. Prescot should never cure him.* These words were heard by others besides *Abbot* himself; who also heard her say, *She would hold his Nose as close to the Grinstone, as ever it was held since his Name was Abbot.* Presently after this, he was taken with a Swelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a Sore, which was lanced by *Dr. Prescot*, and several Gallons of Corruption run out of it. For six Weeks it continued very bad, and then another Sore bred in the Groin, which was also lanced by *Dr. Prescot*. Another Sore then bred in

in his Groin, which was likewise cut, and put him to very great Misery: He was brought unto Death's door, and so remained until *Carrier* was taken, and carried away by the Constable, from which every Day he began to mend, and so grew better every Day, and is well ever since.

Sarah Abbot also, his Wife, testified, That her Husband was not only all this while afflicted in his Body, but also that strange extraordinary and unaccountable Calamities beset his Cattle; their Death being such as *we* could guess at no natural Reason for.

Allin Tootbaker testified, That *Richard*, the Son of *Martha Carrier* having some difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head. When he rose again, he was going to strike at *Richard Carrier*; but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to stir hand or foot, until he told *Carrier* he yielded; and then he saw the shape of *Martha Carrier*, go off his Breast.

This *Tootbaker*, had received a Wound in the Wars; and he now testified, that *Martha Carrier* told him, *He should never be cured*. Just afore the Apprehending of *Carrier*, he could thrust a Knitting-Needle into his Wound, four Inches deep; but presently after her being seized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further testified, That when *Carrier* and he sometimes were at variance, she would clap her Hands at him, and say, *He should get nothing by it*; whereupon he several times lost his Cattle, by strange Deaths, whereof no natural Causes could be given.

V. *John Rogger* also testified, That upon the threatening words of this malicious *Carrier*, his Cattle would be strangely bewitched; as was more particularly then described.

VI. *Samuel Preston* testified, That about two Years ago, having some difference with *Martha Carrier*, he lost a Cow in a strange preternatural unusual manner; and about a Month after this, the said *Carrier*, having again some difference with him, she told him, *He had lately lost a Cow, and it should not be long before he lost another*; which accordingly came to pass; for he had a thriving and well-kept Cow, which without any known cause quickly fell down and died.

VII. *Phebe Chandler* testified, That about a Fortnight before the apprehension of *Martha Carrier*, on a Lord's-day, while the Psalm was singing in the Church, this *Carrier* then took her by the Shoulder and shaking her, asked her, *where she lived*: she made her no answer, altho' as *Carrier*, who lived next door to her Father's House, could not in reason but know who she was. Quickly after this, as she was at several times crossing the Fields, she heard a Voice, that she took to be *Martha Carrier's*, and it seemed as if it was over her head. The Voice told her, *she should within two or three days be poisoned*. Accordingly, within such a little time, one half of her right hand became greatly swollen, and

and very painful, as also part of her Face; whereof she can give no account how it came. It continued very bad for some days; and several times since, she has had a great pain in her Breast; and been so seized on her Legs, that she has hardly been able to go. She added, That lately, going well to the House of God, *Richard*, the Son of *Martha Carrier*, look'd very earnestly upon her, and immediately her Hand, which had formerly been poisoned, as is abovesaid, began to pain her greatly, and she had a strange burning at her Stomach; but was then struck Deaf, so that she could not hear any of the Prayer, or Sing, till the two or three last words of the Psalm.

VIII. One *Foster*, who confessed her own share in the Witchcraft, or which the Prisoner stood indicted, affirm'd, That she had seen the Prisoner at some of their *Witch-meetings*, and that it was this *Carrier*, who perswaded her to be a Witch. She confessed, That the Devil carry'd them on a Pole, to a *Witch-meeting*; but the Pole broke, and she hanging about *Carrier's* Neck, they both fell down, and she then received an hurt by the fall, whereof she was not at this very time recovered.

IX. One *Lacy*, who likewise confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified, that she and the Prisoner were once bodily present at a *Witch-meeting* in *Salem Village*; and that she knew the Prisoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Prisoner was the undoing of her and her Children, by enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.

X. Another *Lacy*, who also confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified, That the Prisoner was at the *Witch-meeting*, in *Salem Village*, where they had Bread and Wine administred unto them.

XI. In the time of this Prisoner's Tryal, one *Susanna Sheldon*, in open Court had her Hands unaccountably ty'd together with a Wheel-band, so fast, that without cutting, it could not be loosed: It was done by a *Spectre*; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the Prisoners.

Memorandum. This Rampant Hag, *Martha Carrier*, was the Person, of whom the Confession of the Witches, and of her own Children, among the rest, agreed, That the Devil promised her, she should be *Queen of Hell*.

Having thus far done the Service impos'd upon me; I will further pursue it, by relating a few of those matchless Curiosities, with which the Witchcraft now upon us, has entertained us. And I shall Report nothing but with good Authority and what I would invite all my Readers to examine, while 'tis yet fresh and new, that if there be found any mistake, it may be as willingly Retracted, as it was unwillingly committed.

Th first Curiosity.

I. 'Tis very Remarkable to see what impious and impudent Imitations of Divine Things, is apishly affected by the Devil, in several of those Matters, whereof the Confessions of our *Witches*, and the Afflictions of our *Sufferers* have informed us.

That Reverend and Excellent Person, Mr. John Higginson, in my Conversation with him, once invited me to this Reflection; that the *Indians* which come from far to settle about *Mexico*, were in their Progress to that Settlement, under a Conduct of the Devil, were strangely Emulating what the Blessed God gave to *Israel* in the Wilderness.

Acosta, is our Author for it, that the Devil in their Idol *Vitzliputzli*, governed that mighty Nation. He commanded them to leave their Country, promising to make them Lords over all the Provinces possessed by Six other Nations of *Indians*, and give them a Land abounding with all precious things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them, in a Coffer of Reeds, supported by four of their Principal Priests, with whom he still discoursed in secret, revealing to them the Successes, and Accidents of their way. He advised them when to March, and where to Stay, and without his Commandment they moved not. The first thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a Tabernacle for their false God; which they set always in the midst of their Camp, and they placed the Ark upon an Altar. When they, tired with Pains, talked of proceeding no further in their Journey, than a certain pleasant Stage, whereto they were arrived, this Devil in one Night, horribly killed them that had started this Talk, by pulling out their Hearts. And so they passed on till they came to *Mexico*.

The Devil which then thus imitated what was in the Church of the Old Testament, now among us would imitate the Affairs of the Church in the New. The *Witches* do say, that they form themselves much after the manner of Congregational Churches; and that they have a Baptism and a Supper and Officers among them, abominably Resembling those of our Lord.

But there are many more of these Bloody *Imitations*, if the Confessions of the *Witches* are to be received ; which I confess, ought to be but with very much Caution.

What is their striking down with a fierce *Look* ? What is their making of the Afflicted *Rise*, with a touch of their *Hand* ? What is their *Transportation* through the *Air* ? What is their Travelling in *Spirit*, while their Body is cast into a Trance ? What is their causing of *Cattel* to run mad and perish ? What is their Enttring their Names in a *Book* ? What is their coming together from all parts, at the Sound of a *Trumpet* ? What is their appearing sometimes clothed with *Light* or *Fire* upon them ? What is their covering of themselves and their Instruments with *Invisibility* ? But a blasphemous Imitation of certain things recorded about our Saviour or his Prophets, or the Saints in the Kingdom of God,

A Second Curiosity.

II. In all the *Witchcraft* which now grievously Vexes us, I know not whether any thing be more unaccountably, than the Trick which the *Witches* have to render themselves, and their Tools *Invisible*. *Witchcraft* seems to be the Skill of Applying the *Plastic Spirit* of the World, unto some unlawful purposes, by means of a Confederacy with *Evil Spirits*. Yet one would wonder how the *Evil Spirits* themselves can do some things ; especially at *Invisibilizing* of the grossest Bodies. I can tell the Name of an ancient Author, who pretends to shew the way, how a Man may come to walk about *Invisible*, and I can tell the Name of another ancient Author, who pretends to Explode that way. But I will not speak too plainly, lest I should unawares Poison some of my Readers, as the Pious *Hemingius* did one of his *Pupils*, when he only by way of Diversion recited a Spell, which, they had said, would cure *Agues*. Thus much I will say ; The notion of procuring *Invisibility*, by any *Natural Expedient*, yet known, is, I believe, a meer *PLINYISM* ; How far it may be obtained by a *Magical Sacrament*, is best known to the dangerous Knaves that have try'd it. But our *Witches* do seem to have got the knack ; and this is one of the Things, that make me think, *Witchcraft* will not be fully understood, until the day when there shall not be one Witch in the World.

There are certain People very *Dogmatical* about these Matters ; but I'll give them only these three Bones to pick.

First, One of our bewitched People, was cruelly assaulted by a *Spettre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle* ; tho' no body else in the Room, could see either the *Spettre* or the *Spindle*. At last, in her Miseries, giving a snatch at the *Spettre*, she pull'd the *Spindle* away, and it was no sooner

sooner got into her Hand, but the other People then present, beheld, that it was indeed a real, proper, Iron *Spindle*, belonging they knew to whom; which when they lock'd up very safe, it was nevertheless by *Demons* unaccountably stole away, to do further mischief.

Secondly, Another of our Bewitch'd People, was haunted with a most abusive *Spectre*, which came to her, she said, with a *Sheet* about her. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze, from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, she gave a violent snatch at the *Sheet*, that was upon it; wherefrom she tore a Corner, which in her hand immediately became *Visible* to a Room full of Spectators; a palpable Corner of a *Sheet*. Her Father, who was now holding her, catch'd that he might keep what his Daughter had so strangely seized, but the unseen *Spectre* had like to have pull'd his hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him; however he still held it, and I suppose has it still to shew; it being but a few hours ago, namely about the beginning of this *October*, that this Accident happened in the Family of one *Pitman*, at *Manchester*.

Thirdly, A young Man, delaying to procure Testimonials for his Parents, who being under confinement on Suspicion of *Witchcraft*, required him to do that service for them, was quickly pursued with odd Inconveniences. But once above the rest, an Officer going to put his *Brand* on the Horns of some *Cows*, belonging to these People, which tho he had seized for some of their Debts, yet he was willing to leave in their Possession, for the Subsistence of the poor Family; this young Man help'd in holding the *Cows* to be thus branded. The three first *Cows* he held well enough; but when the hot *Brand* was clap'd upon the Fourth, he *wine'd* and *strunk* at such a Rate, as that he could hold the *Cow* no longer. Being afterwards Examined about it, he confessed, that at that very instant when the *Brand* entered the *Cows Horn*, exactly the like burning *Brand* was clap'd upon his own Thigh; where he has exposed the lasting Marks of it, unto such as asked to see them.

Unriddle these Things. — Et Eris mihi magnus Apollo.

A Third Curiosity.

III. If a drop of *Innocent Blood* should be shed, in the Prosecution of the *Witchcrafts* among us, how unhappy are we! For which cause, I cannot express my self in better terms, than those of a most worthy Person, who lives near the present Center of these things. *The Mind of God in these Matters, is to be carefully lookt into, with due Circumspection, that Satan deceive us not with his Devices, who transforms him-*

self into an *Angel of Light*, and may pretend *Justice* and yet intend *Mischief*. But on the other side, if the storm of *Justice* do now fall only on the Heads of those guilty *Witches* and *Wretches* which have defiled our Land, *How Happy!*

The Execution of some that have lately dyed, has been immediately attended, with a strange Deliverance of some, that had lain for many years, in a most sad Condition, under, they knew not whose evil hands. As I am abundantly satisfied, That many of the Self-Murders committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and bloody *Witchcraft*, letting fly *Demons* upon the miserable *Seneca's*; thus, it has been admirable unto me to see, how a devilish *Witchcraft*, sending Devils upon them, has driven many poor People to *Despair*, and persecuted their Minds, with such buzzes of *Atheism* and *Blasphemy*, as has made them run distracted with *Terrors*: And some long bow'd down under such a Spirit of *Infirmity*, have been marvellously recovered upon the Death of the *Witches*.

One *Whetford* particularly ten years ago, challenging of *Bridget Bishop* (whose Trial you have had) with stealing of a Spoon, *Bishop* threatned her very direfully: presently after this, was *Whetford* in the Night, and in her Bed, visited by *Bishop*, with one *Parker*, who making the Room light at their coming in, there discoursed of several *Mischiefs* they would inflict upon her. At last they pull'd her out, and carried her unto the Sea-side, there to drown her; but the calling upon God, they left her, tho not without Expressions of their *Fury*. From that very time, this poor *Whetford* was utterly spoilt, and grew a tempted, froward, crazed sort of a Woman; a Vexation to her self, and all about her; and many ways unreasonable. In this *Distraction* she lay, till those Women were Apprehended, by the Authority; then she began to mend, and upon their Execution, was presently and perfectly recovered, from the ten years *Madness* that had been upon her.

A Fourth Curiosity.

IV. 'Tis a thousand pities, that we should permit our Eyes to be so Blood-shot with *Passions*, as to lose the sight of many wonderful things, wherein the *Wisdom* and *Justice* of God, would be glorified. Some of those things, are the frequent Apparitions of *Ghosts*, whereby many old Murders among us, come to be considered. And, among many Instances of this kind, I will single out ones which concerned a poor Man, lately Prest unto Death, because of his refusing to Plead for his Life. I shall make an Extract of a Letter, which was written to my Honourable Friend, *Samuel Sewal*, Esq; by Mr. Putman, to this purpose;

THE

“THE last Night my Daughter *Ann* was grievously tormented by Witches, threatening that we *should* be *Pressed* to Death, before *Giles Cory*. But through the Goodness of a Gracious God, she had at last a little Respite: Whereupon there appeared unto her (she said) a Man in a Winding sheet, who told her, that *Giles Cory* had Murdered him by *Pressing* him to Death with his Feet; but that the Devil there appeared unto him, and Covenanted with him, and promis'd him, *He should not be Hanged*. The Apparition said, God hardned his Heart, that he should not hearken to the Advice of the Court, and so die an easie Death; because as it said, *It must be done to him as he has done to me*. The Apparition also said, that *Giles Cory* was carried to the Court for this, and that the Jury had found the Murther, and that her Father knew the Man, and the thing was done before she was Born. Now Sir, this is not a little strange to us, that no Body should remember these things all the while that *Giles Cory* was in Prison, and so often before the Court. For all People now remember very well, (and the Records of the Court also mention it) That about Seventeen Years ago, *Giles Cory* kept a Man in his House, that was almost a Natural Fool; which Man died Suddenly: A Jury was Impannel'd upon him, among whom was Dr. *Zerobabel Endicot*; who found the Man bruiz'd to Death; and having clodders of Blood about his Heart. The Jury, whereof several are yet alive, brought in the Man Murdered; but as if some Enchantment had hindred the Prosecution of the Matter, the Court proceeded not against *Giles Cory*, tho it cost him a great deal of Money to get off. Thus the Story.

THE Reverend and Worthy Author, having at the Direction of his Excellency the Governour, so far obliged the Publick, as to give some Account of the Sufferings brought upon the Country by Witchcraft; and of the Tryals which have passed upon several Executed for the same.

Upon perusal whereof, we find the Matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported; and a Prospect given of the Methods of Conviction, used in the Proceedings of the Court at Salem.

Boston Octob. 11.
1692.

William Stoughton,
Samuel Sewall.

BUT

The Wonders of the

BUT is *New England* the only Christian Country, that hath undergone such Diabolical Molestations? No, there are other good People, that have in this way been harrassed: but none in Circumstances more like to *Ours*, than the People of God in *Sweedland*. The Story is a very famous one, and it comes to speak *English* by the acute Pen of the Excellent and Renowned Dr. *Horneck*. I shall only single out a few of the more Memorable Passages therein occurring; and where it agrees with what happened among ourselves, my Reader shall understand, by my inserting a word of every such thing in **Black Letter**.

I. It was in the Year 1669, and 1670. That at *Mobra*, in *Sweedland*, the **Devils**, by the help of **Witches**, committed a most horrible Outrage. Among other Instances of Hellish Tyranny there exercised, One was, that Hundreds of their Children were usually in the Night fetch'd from their Lodgings, to a Diabolical Rendezvous, at a place they call'd *Blockula*, where the Monsters that so spirited them, tempted them all manner of ways to Associate with them. Yea, such were the perilous growth of this *Witchcraft*, that Persons of Quality began to send their Children into other Countries to avoid it.

II. The Inhabitants had earnestly sought God by Prayer, and yet their Affliction continued. Whereupon Judges had a special Commission to find and root out the Hellish Crew; and the rather, because another County in the Kingdom, which had been so molested, was deliver'd upon the Execution of the *Witches*.

III. The Examination was begun with a day of Humiliation appointed by Authority. Whereupon the Commissioners Consulting how they might resist such a dangerous Flood; the Suffering Children were first Examined; and though they were Questioned One by One apart, yet their Declarations all agreed. The **Witches** Accus'd in these Declarations, were then Examined; and though at first they obstinately denied, yet at length many of them ingenuously Confessed the Truth of what the Children said; owning, with Tears, that the Devil, whom they called *Locy-ra*, had stop't their Mouths; but he being now gone from them, they could no longer Conceal the Business. The things by them acknowledged, most wonderfully agreed with what other Witches in other Places had confessed.

IV. They confessed, That they did use to **Call upon the Devil**, who thereupon would **carry** them away over the **Tops of Houses**, to a **Green Meadow**, where they gave themselves unto him. Only one of them said, that sometimes the Devil only took away her **Strength**, leaving her **Body** on the **Ground**; but she went at other times in **Body** too.

V. Their manner was to come into the **Chambers** of People, and fetch away their Children upon **Beasts** of the Devil's providing; promising **fine Clothes** and other fine Things unto them, to inveigle them. They said, they never had power to do thus, till of late; but now the Devil did **plague** and **Beat** them, if they did not gratifie him in this piece of Mischief. They said, they made use of all sorts of **Instruments** in their Journeys! Of **Men**, of **Beasts**, of **Horses**; the Men they commonly laid asleep at the Place where to they rode them, and if the Children mentioned the **Names** of them that stole them away, they were miserably **Scourged** for it, until some of them were killed. The **Judges** found the Marks of the Lashes on some of them; but the Witches said, **They would quickly vanish**. Moreover, the Children would be in strange **Fits**, after they were brought home from these Transportations.

VI. The first thing they said they were to do at **Blockula**, was to give themselves unto the Devil, and **Tow** that they would serve him. Hereupon they **cut their fingers**, and with **Blood** writ their **Names** in his **Book**. And he also caused them to be **Baptized** by such **Priests** as he had in this Horrid Company. In some of them the **Mark** of the **cut finger** was to be found; they said, that the Devil gave **Meat** and **Drink**, as to **Them**, so to the Children they brought with them; that afterwards their custom was to **Dance** before him, and **Smear** and **Curse** most horribly. They said, that the Devil shewed them a great frightful cruel **Dragon**, telling them, *If they confessed any thing*, he would let loose that great Devil upon them: They added, that the Devil had a great **Church**, and that when the **Judge** were coming, he told them, *He would kill them all*; and that that some of them had attempted to murder the **Judges**, but could not.

VII. Some of the Children talked much of a **white Angel**, which did use to forbid them what the Devil bid them to do, and assure them, that these doings would *not last long*; but that what had been done, was permitted for the Wickedness of the People. This **white Angel** would sometimes **Rescue** the Children from **Going** in with the Witches.

VIII. The Witches confessed many Mischiefs done by them, declaring with what kind of **Enchanted Tools** they did their Mischiefs: They thought especially to *Kill the Minister of Elfdala* but could

could not. But some of them said, that such as they wounded, would be recovered, upon or before their Execution.

IX. The Judges would fain have had them shew'd some of their Tricks; but they unanimously declared, *That since they had confessed all, they found all their Witchcraft gone*; and the Devil then appeared very terrible unto them, threatening with an Iron Fork to thrust them into a burning Pit, if they persisted in their Confession.

X. There were discovered no less than threescore and ten Witches in one Village; three and twenty of which freely confessing their Crimes, were Condemned to Die. The rest (one pretending she was with Child) were sent to Fahluna, where most of them were afterwards executed. Fifteen Children, which confessed themselves engaged in this Witchery, died as the rest, Six and thirty of them between Nine and Sixteen Years of Age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet, and be lashed on their Hands once a Week, for a Year together. Twenty more, who had less inclination to these Infernal Enterprizes, were lashed with Rods upon their Hands for three Sundays together, at the Church-door. The Number of the Seduced Children, was about Three Hundred. This Course, together with Weekly Prayers in all the Churches through the Kingdom, issued in the deliverance of the Country.

XI. The most Accomplish'd Dr. Horneck inserts a most wise Caution in his Preface to this Narrative, says he, *There is no Publick Calamity, but some ill People will serve themselves of the sad Providence, and make use of it for their own ends; as Thieves, when an House or Town is on Fire, will steal what they can.* And he mentions a remarkable Story of a young Woman at Stockholm, in the Year 1676. who accus'd her own Mother of being a Witch; and swore positively, that she had carried her away in the Night; the poor Woman was burnt upon it, professing her Innocency to the last. But though she had been an ill Woman, yet it afterwards prov'd, that she was not such an one; for her Daughter came to the Judges, with hideous Lamentations, confessing that she had wronged her, out of a wicked spite against her; whereupon the Judges gave order for her Execution too.

But so much of these things. *And now, Lord, make these Labours of thy Servant profitable to thy People.*

F I N I S.

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arose a Diffention among some of the People there, which came from *Words to Blows*, and at last it passed on to the *shedding of Blood*. After the Tumult was over, when they came to that *Clause* in their Devotions, *Thou hast made this Day glorious*; the Devil, to the inexpressible Terror of that vast Assembly, made the Temple ring with that Out-cry, *But I have made this Day Quarrellsome*: We are truly come into a day, which by being well managed, might be very *Glorious* for the Exterminating of those *Accursed Things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Prosperity. But if we make this day quarrellsome, through any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, O Lord, my flesh trembles for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments. Erasmus, among other Historians, tells us, that at a Town in Germany, a Witch, or Devil, appear'd on the top of a Chimney, threatening to set the Town on Fire: And at length, scattering a Pot of Ashes abroad, the Town was presently and horribly burnt unto the Ground. Methinks I see the Spectres from the top of the Chimneys to the Northward, threatening to scatter Fire about the Country; but let us quench that Fire by the most Amicable Correspondencies; lest, as the Spectres have, they say, already most literally burnt some of our Dwellings, there do come forth a further fire from the Brambles of Hell, which may terribly Devour us. Let us not be like a Troubled House, altho we are so much haunted by the Devils. Let our long suffering be a well placed piece of Armour about us, against the Fiery Darts of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago as the year 858: a certain Pestilent and Malignant sort of a Demon, molested Chaumont in Germany, with all sorts of Methods to stir up strife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detested Villanies, he branded People with all kind of Infamies. He incensed the Neighbourhood against One Man particularly, as the Cause of all the Mischiefs; who yet proved himself innocent. He threw Stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burnt their Habitations, till the Commission of the Demon could go no further. I say, let us be well aware lest such Demons do come hither also.

III. Inasmuch as the Devil is come down in great Wrath, we had need labour with all the care and speed we can, to divert the great Wrath of Heaven from coming at the same time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions been calling us to a Reformation of our provoking Evils, as the only way to avoid that Wrath of his, which does not only threaten, but consume us. 'Tis because we have been Deaf to those Calls that we are now by a provoked God laid open to the Wrath of the Devil himself. It is said

said in Prov. 16. 7. *When a mans ways please the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is our grand Enemy; and tho we would not be at peace with him, yet we would be at peace from him; that is, we would have him unable to disquiet our Peace. But inasmuch as the wrath which we endure from this Enemy, will allow us no peace, we may be sure our ways have not pleased the Lord. It is because we have broken the Hedge of God's Precepts, that the Hedge of God's Providence is not to entice as it uses to be about us; but Serpents are biting of us. O let us then see our selves, to make our peace with our God, whom we have displeased by our Iniquities: And let us not imagine that we can encounter the Wrath of the Devil, while there is the Wrath of God Almighty to set that Mastiff upon us. REFORMATION, REFORMATION, has been the repeated Cry of all the Judgments that have hitherto been upon us; because we have been as deaf Adders thereunto; the Adders of the Infernal Pit are now hissing about us. At length, as it was of old said, Luke 6. 13. *If one went unto them from the dead, they will repent;* even so, there are some come unto us from the damned. The Great God has loosed the Bars of the Pit, so that many damned Spirits are come in among us, to make us repent of our Misdemeanors. The Means which the Lord had formerly employ'd for our awakening, were such, that he might well have said, *What could I have done more?* And yet after all, he has done more, in some regards, than was ever done for the awakening of any People in the World. The things now done to awaken our Enquiries after our provoking Evils; and our Endeavours to reform those Evils, are most extraordinary things; for which cause I would freely speak it, if we now do not some extraordinary things in speedily returning to God, we are the most incurable; and I wish it be not quickly said, the most miserable People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a time for all People to do something extraordinary, in searching and trying of their ways, and in turning to the Lord. It is an extraordinary rate of Circumspection, and Spiritual mindedness, that we should all now maintain a walk with God. At such a time as this, ought not Magistrates to do something extraordinary in promoting of what is laudable, and in restraining and chastising of Evil doers? At such a time as this, ought not Ministers to do something extraordinary in pulling the Souls of Men out of the Snarcs of the Devil, not only by publick Preaching, but by personal Visits and Counsels, from house to house. At such a time as this ought not Churches to do something extraordinary in renewing of their Covenants, and in remembering and reviving the Obligations of what they have renewed. Some admir;

mirable Designs about the Reformation of Manners, have lately been on foot in the *English* Nation, in pursuance of the most excellent Admonitions which have been given for it, by the Letters of their Majesties. Besides, the Vigorous Agreements of the *Judices* here and there in the Kingdom, assisted by godly Gentlemen and Informers, to execute the Laws upon prophane Offenders; there has been started a Peoposal for the well affected People in every Parish, to enter into orderly Societies, whereof every Member shall bind himself, not only to avoid Prophanenels in himself, but also according unto their Place, to do their utmost in first Reproving; and if it must be so, then Exposing, and so Punishing, as the Law directs, for others that shall be guilty. It has been observed, that the *English* Nation has had some of its great Successes, upon some special and signal Actions this way; and a discouragement given unto Legal Proceedings of this kind, must needs be very exercising to the *Wise* that observe these things. But O, why should not *New England* be the most forward part of the *English* Nation in such Reformation? Methink I hear the Lord from Heaven saying overus, O that my people had harkned unto me, then I should soon have subdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies! There have been some feeble Essays towards Reformation of late in our Churches; but I pray what comes of them? Do we stay till the storm of his Wrath be over? Nay, let us be doing what we can, as fast as we can to divert the storm. The Devils having broke in upon our World, there is great asking, Who is it that has brought them in? And many do by Spectral Exhibitions come to be cryed out upon. I hope in Gods time it will be found, that among those that are thus cryed out upon, there are Persons yet Clear from the great Transgression; but indeed, all the Unreformed among us, may justly be cryed out upon, as having too much of an hand in letting of the Devils into our Borders; 'tis our Worldliness, our Formality, our Sensuality, and our Iniquity, that has helped this letting of the Devils in. O let us then at last, consider our ways. 'Tis a strange passage recorded by Mr. Clark, in the Life of his Father, That the People of his Parish refusing to be Reclaimed from their Sabbath-breaking, by all the Zealous Testimonies which that good Man bore against it; at last, on a Night after the People had retired home from a Revelling prophanation of the Lord's Day, there was heard a great Noise, with rattling of Chains up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimstone fill'd the Neighbourhood. Upon which the guilty Consciences of the Wretches told them, the Devil was come to fetch them away; and it so terrified them, that an Eminent Reformation followed the Sermons which that Man

of God preached thereupon. Behold Sinners, behold and wonder, lest *you perish*; the very Devils are *walking about our Streets*, with lengthned Chains, making a *dreadful Noise in our Ears*, and *Brimstone even without a Metaphor*, is making an hellish and horrid stench in our *Nostrils*. I pray leave off all those things whereof your *guilty Consciences* may *now accuse you*, lest the Devils do yet more *dreadfully fall upon you*. Reformation is at this time our only preservation.

HAVING thus discours'd on *Wonders of the Invisible World*, I shall now with God's help, go on to relate some Remarkable and Memorable Instances of Wonders which that World has given to *our selves*. And altho the chief Entertainment which my Readers do expect, and shall receive, will be a *true History* of what has occurred, respecting the *Witchcrafts* wherewith we are at this day *persecuted*; yet I shall choose to Usher in the mention of those things, with,

A Narrative of an APPARITION which a Gentleman in Boston, had of his Brother, just then Murthered in London.

IT was on the 2d of May, in the year 1687, that a most ingenious accomplished and well disposed Gentleman, Mr. *Joseph Beacom* by Name, about five a Clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or Waking he could not say, (but judged the latter of them) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, altho he was now himself at our *Boston*, distanced from him a *Thousand Leagues*. This his Brother appear'd unto him in the Morning about five a Clock at *Boston*, having on him a *Bengal Gown*, which he usually wore, with a *Napkin* tyed about his *Head*; his *Countenance* was very *Pale*, *Gastly*, *Deadly*: and he had a *Bloody Wound* on one side of his *Forehead*. Brother! says the affrighted *Joseph*. Brother, answered the Apparition. Said *Joseph*, *What's the matter Brother?* *How came you here?* The Apparition replied, *Brother, I have been most barbarously and injuriously Butcher'd, by a Debauch'd, drunken Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my Life*. Whereupon he gave a particular description of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, This Fellow chang-*

ing his Name, is attempting to come over unto New-England, in Foy or Wild: I would pray you on the first Arrival of either of these, to get an Order from the Governour, to Seize the Person whom I have now described; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother: I'll stand by you and prove the Indictment. And so he vanished. Mr. Beacon was extremely astonished at what he had seen and heard; and the people of the Family not only observed an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the week following, but have also given me under their hands a full Testimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. Beacon had no advice of any thing amiss attending his Brother then in England; but about the latter end of June following, he understood by the common ways of Communication, that the April before, his Brother going in haste by Night to call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in Drink, with his Doxy in his Hand: Some way or other the Fellow thought himself Affronted with the hasty passage of this Beacon, and immediately ran into the Fire side of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-fork, wherewith he grievously wounded Beacon in the Skull; even in that very part where the Apparition shew'd his Wound. Of this Wound he Languished until he Dyed on the Second of May, about five of the Clock in the Morning at London. The Murderer it seems was endeavouring to Escape, as the Apparition affirmed, but the Friends of the Deceased Beacon, Seized him; and prosecuting him at Law, he found the help of such Friends as brought him off without the loss of his Life; since which there has no more been heard of the Business.

This History I received of Mr. Joseph Beacon himself, who a little before his own pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story written and signed with his own Hand, and attested with the Circumstances I have already mentioned,

BUT I shall no longer detain my Reader from his expected Entertainment, in a brief Account of the Tryals which have passed upon some of the Malefactors lately Executed at Salem, for the Witchcrafts whereof they stood Convicted. For my own part, I was not present at any of them; nor ever had I any Personal prejudice at the Persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less at the surviving Relations of those Persons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a Mourner as any Man living in the World: The Lord Comfort them! But having received

received a particular Command so to do, I can do no other than shortly relate the chief *Matters of Fact*, which occur'd in the Tryals of some that were Executed, in an Abridgment Collected out of the *Court Papers*, on this occasion put into my hands. You are to take the Truth just as it was; and the Truth will hurt no good man. There might have been more of these, if my Book would not thereby have swollen too big; and if some other worthy hands did not perhaps intend something further in these *Collections*; for which cause I have only singled out Four or Five, which may serve to illustrate the way of Dealing, wherein *Witchcrafts* use to be concerned; and I report matters not as an *Advocate*, but as an *Historian*.

They were some of the Gracious Words inserted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Ministers did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, *We cannot but with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Assiduous endeavours of our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; humbly Praying, that the discovery of these mysterious and mischievous wickednesses, may be perfected.* If in the midst of the many Dissatisfactions among us, the Publication of these Tryals, may promote such a pious Thankfulness unto God for Justice being so far executed among us, I shall Rejoyce that God is Glorified; and pray that no wrong steps of ours may ever fully any of his Glorious Works. But we will begin with

A Modern Instance of Witches, Discovered and Condemned in a Tryal, before that Celebrated Judge, Sir Matthew Hale.

IT may cast some Light upon the Dark things now in *America*, if we just give a glance upon the like things lately happening in *Europe*. We may see the *Witchcrafts* here most exactly resemble the *Witchcrafts* there; and we may learn what sort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable Baxter very truly says, *Judge Hale was a Person, than whom no man was more Backward to condemn a Witch, without full Evidence.*

Now, one of the latest Printed Accounts about a Tryal of *Witches*, is of what was before him, and it ran on this wise. [Printed in the Year 1682.] And it is here the rather mentioned, because it was a Tryal, much considered by the Judges of *New-England*.

I. *Rose Cullender* and *Amy Duny*, were severally Indicted, for bewitching *Elizabeth Durent*, *Ann Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Susan Chandler*, *William Durent*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, and the Evidence whereon they were Convicted, stood upon divers particular Circumstances.

II. *Ann Durent*, *Susan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacy*, when they came into the Hall, to give Instructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into strange and violent Fits, so that they were unable to give in their Depositions, not only then, but also during the whole Assizes. *William Durent* being an Infant, his Mother Swore, That *Amy Duny* looking after her Child one Day in her absence, did at her return confess, that she had given suck to the Child : (tho' she were an Old Woman :) Whereat, when *Durent* expressed her displeasure, *Duny* went away with Discontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into strange and sad Fits, wherein it continued for divers Weeks. One Dr. *Jacob* advised her to hang up the Childs Blanket in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night when she went to put the Child into it, if she found any thing in it then to through it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up and down the Hearth. A boy catch't it, and held it in the Fire with the Tongs, where it made an horrible Noise and flash'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report like that of a Pistol : Whereupon the Toade was no more to be seen. The next Day a Kinswoman of *Duny's* told the Deponent, that her Aunt was all grievously scorch'd with the Fire, and the Deponent going to her House, found her in such a Condition. *Duny* told her, she might thank her for it; but she should live to see some of her Children Dead, and her self upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child recovered.

This Deponent further testified. That her Daughter *Elizabeth*, being about the Age of ten Years, was taken in like manner as her first Child was, and in her Fits complained much of *Amy Duny*, and said that she did appear to her, and afflict her in such manner as the former. One day she found *Amy Duny* in her House, and thrusting her out of Doors, *Duny* said, *You need not be so angry, your Child won't live long.* And within three days the Child died. The Deponent added, that she her self, not long after was taken with such a Lameness in both her Legs, that she was forced to go upon Crutches, and she was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in *Duny* Guilty, *Durent* was restored unto the use of

of her Limbs ; and went home without her Crutches.]

III. As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, one Aged Eleven Years, the other Nine ; the elder being in Court, was made utterly senseless, during all the time of the Trial, or at least speechless, by the direction of the Judge, *Duny* was privately brought to *Elizabeth Pacy*, and she touched her hand : whereupon the Child, without so much as seeing her, suddenly leap'd up and flew upon the Prisoner ; the younger was too ill to be brought into the Assizes. But *Samuel Pacy*, their Father, testified, that his Daughter *Deborah* was taken with a sudden Lameness ; and upon the grumbling of *Amy Duny*, for being denied something, where this Child was then sitting, the Child was taken with an extream pain in her stomach, like the pricking of Pins ; and shrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather than a Rational Creature. The Physicians could not conjecture the cause of the Distemper ; but *Amy Duny*, being a Woman of ill Frame, and the Child in Fits crying out of *Amy Duny*, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her Person, the Deponent suspected her, and procured her to be set in the Stocks. While she was there, she said in the hearing of two Witnesses, Mr. *Pacy* keeps a great stir about his Child, but let him stay till he has done as much by his Children as I have done by mine. And being asked what she had done to her Children, she answered, *She had been fain to open her Childs Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.* The Deponent added, that within two days the Fits of his Daughters were such, that they could not preserve either Life or Breath, without the help of a Tap. And that the Children cry'd out of *Amy Duny*, and of *Rose Cullender*, as afflicting them with her Apparition.

IV. The Fits of the Children were various. They would sometimes be Lame on one side, sometimes on t'other. Sometimes very sore, sometimes restored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extreamly, and with much Flegm, they would bring up crooked pins, and at one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would cast up a Pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of *Lord*, or *Jesus*, or *Christ*, but would fall into Fits ; and say, *Amy Duny* says, *I must not use that Name.* When they came to the Name of *Satan* or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers upon the Book, crying out, *This bites, but it makes me speak right well !* The Children in their Fits would often Cry out, *There stands Amy Duny, or Rose Cullender ;* and they would

after-

The Wonders of the

afterwards relate, *That these Witches appearing before them, threatened them, that if they told of what they saw or heard, they would Torment them more than ever they did before.*

V. *Margaret Arnold*, the Sister to *Mr. Pacy*, Testified unto the like Sufferings being upon the Children, at her House, whither her Brother had removed them. And that sometimes, the Children (only) would see things like Mice, run about the House; and one of them suddenly snap'd one with the Tongs, and threw it into the Fire, where it screeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee flew at the Face of the younger Child, the Child fell into a Fit, and at last Vomited up a *Two-penny Nail*, with a Broad Head; affirming, *That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her Mouth.* The Child would in like manner be assaulted with Flies, which brought crooked Pins unto her, and made her first swallow them, and then Vomit them. She one day caught an Invisible Mouse, and throwing it into the Fire, it flash'd like to Gun-Powder. None besides the Child saw the Mouse, but every one saw the Flash. She also declared out of her Fits, that in them, *Amy Dury* much tempted her to destroy her self.

VI. As for *Ann Durent*, her Father testified, That upon a Discontent of *Rose Cullender*, his Daughter was taken with much Illness in her Stomach, and great and sore pains, like the pricking of Pins, and then Swooning Fits, from which recovering, she declared, *She had seen the Apparition of Rose Cullender, threatening to Torment her.* She likewise Vomited up divers Pins. The Maid was present at Court, but when *Cullender* looked upon her, she fell into such Fits, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin deposed the same.

VII. *Jane Bockin*, who was too weak to be at the Assizes, but her Mother Testified, that her Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fits, and Recovered of them, was now taken with a great pain in her Stomach, and New Swooning Fits. That she took little Food, but every day Vomitted Crooked Pins. In her first Fits, she would extend her Arms, and use postures as if she caught at something; and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find several pins diversely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would also maintain a Discourse with some that were invisibly present, when casting abroad her Arms, she would often say, *I will not have it!* but at last say, *Then I will have it!* and closing her hand, which when they presently after opened, a
Lath

Lath Nail was found in it. But her great Complaints were of being visited by the shapes of *Amy Dury*, and *Rose Cullender*.

VIII. As for *Susan Chandler*, her Mother Testified, That being at the Search of *Rose Cullender*, they found on her Belly a thing like a Tear, of an Inch long; which the said *Rose* ascribed to a strain. But near her privy parts they found three more, that were smaller than the former. At the end of the long Tear there was a little hole, which appeared as if newly Sucked; and upon straining it, a white Milky Matter issued out. The Deponent further said, That her Daughter being one day concerned at *Rose Cullenders*, taking her by the hand she fell very sick, and at night cry'd out, *That Rose Cullender would come to Bed unto her*. Her Fits grew violent, and in the Intervals of them, she declared, *That she saw Rose Cullender in them, and once having a great Dog with her*. She also Vomited up crooked Pins; and when she was brought into Court, she fell into Fits. She recovered her self in some time, and was asked by the Court, whether she was in a condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She said she could, but having been Sworn, she fell into her Fits again, and *Burn her! Burn her!* were all the words that she could find Power to speak. Her Father likewise gave the same Testimony with her Mother, as to all but the Search.

IX Here was the sum of the Evidence: which was not thought sufficient to Convict the Prisoners. For admitting the Children were Bewitched, yet, said he, it can never be apply'd unto the Prisoners, upon the Imagination of the Parties only Afflicted; inasmuch as no person whatsoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. Brown, a very Learned Person then present, gave his Opinion, that these Persons were bewitched. He added, that in *Denmark*, there had been lately a great discovery of Witches; who used the very same way of afflicting people, by conveying Pins and Nails into them. His opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did work upon the Bodys of Men and Women, upon a *Natural Foundation*; and that he did Extraordinarily afflict them, with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject unto:

X. The Experiment about the *Usefulness*, yea, or *Lamfulness* whereof Good Men have sometimes disputed, was divers Times made, that though the afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their Fits, yet upon the Touch of the accused, they would

so screech out, and fly up, as not upon any other Persons. And yet it was also found that once upon the touch of an innocent person, the like effect followed, which put the whole Court unto a stand? although a small Reason was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to strengthen the Credit of what had been already produced against the Prisoners, one *John Soam* testifi'd, that bringing home his Hay in Three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of *Rose Cullenders* House, whereupon she flew out, with violent Threanings against the Deponent. The other two Carts, passed by twice, Loaded, that day afterwards; but the Cart which touched *Cullenders* House, was twice or thrice that day overturned. Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which leads out of the Field, the Cart struck so fast in the Gates Head, that they could not possibly get it thro', but were forced to cut down the Post of the Gate, to make the Cart pass thro', altho' they could not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-Post. They afterwards did with much Difficulty get it home to the Yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they should unload. They were fain to unload at a great Distance; and when they were Tired, the Noses of them that came to assist them, would burst forth a Bleeding; so they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any difficulty.

XII. *Robert Sherringham* also Testified, that the Axle Tree of his Cart, happening in passing, to break some part of *Rose Cullenders* House, in her Anger, at it, she vehemently threatened him, *His Horses should suffer for it*. And within a short time all his Four Horses dyed; after which he sustained many other Losses in the sudden dying of his Cattle. He was also taken with a Lameness in his Limbs; and so vexed with Lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigness, that no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up two Suits of Apparel.

XIII. As for *Amy Duny*, 'twas Testifi'd by one *Richard Spencer* that he heard her say, *That the Devil would not let her Rest; until she were Revenged on the Wife of Cornelius Sandswel*. And that *Sandswel* testifi'd, that her Poultry dy'd suddainly, upon *Amy Dunys* threatening of them; and that her Husbands Chimney fell, quickly after *Duny* had spoken of such a disaster. And a Firkin of Fish could not be kept from falling into the Water, upon suspicious words of *Dunys*.

XIV. The Judge told the Jury, they were to inquire now, first, Whether these Children were Bewitched; and secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were such Creatures as Witches, for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such Persons. He prayed the God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for *To condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*

The Jury in half an hour brought them in Guilty upon the several Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next Morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord Chief Justice, and were in as good health as ever in their Lives; being restored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were Executed, and Confessed nothing; which indeed will not be wondered by them, who Consider and Entertain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, *That the Unpardonable Sin, is most usually Committed by Professors of the Christian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.*

We will now proceed unto several of the like Trials among our selves.

I.

THE

TRIAL of G. B.

At a Court of

OYER and TERMINER.

Held in SALEM. 1692.

GLad should I have been, if I had never known the Name of this Man; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first Letters of his Name. But the Government requiring some Account of his Trial to be inserted in this Book, it becomes me with all Obedience to submit unto the Order.

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I. This

I. This *G. B.* Was Indicted for Witchcraft, and in the Prosecution of the Charge against him, he was accused by five or six of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miseries; he was accused by Eight of the Confessing Witches, as being an head Actor at some of their Rendezvouzes, and one who had the Promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be Erected: He was accused by Nine Persons for extraordinary Lifting, and such feats of strength, as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such things he was accused, until about thirty Testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these judged the half of what might have been considered for his Conviction: However they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reason, by the Judicious *Gaule*, in that Case directed.

II. The Court being sensible, that the Testimonies of the Parties Bewitched, used to have a Room among the Suspicions or Presumptions, brought in against one Indicted for Witchcraft; there were now heard the Testimonies of several Persons, who were most notoriously Bewitched, and every day Tortured by invisible Hands, and these now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to have a share in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the Bewitched People were grievously harrassed with Preternatural Mischiefs, which could not possibly be Dissembled; and they all still ascribed it unto the endeavours of *G. B.* to Kill them. And now upon the Tryal of one of the Bewitched Persons, testif'd that in her Agonies, a little black Haired Man came to her, saying his Name was *B.* and bidding her set her hand to a Book which he shewed unto her; and bragging that he was a *Conjurer*, above the ordinary Rank of Witches: That he often persecuted her with the offer of that Book, saying, *She should be well, and need fear no Body if she would but sign it;* But he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, because of her denying so to do. The Testimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with these; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting was one of the ways which the Witches used for the vexing the Sufferers; when they cried out of *G. B.* Biting them, the print of their Teeth would be seen on the Flesh of the Complainers, and just such a set of Teeth as *G. B.*'s would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of some other Men. Others of them testified, that in their Torments, *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him

him with a Sound of Trumper, Summoning of other Witches who quickly after the Sound, would come from all Quarters unto the Rendezvouze. One of them falling into a Trance, affirmed, that G. B. had carried her away into a very high Mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and said, *He would give them all to her if she would write in his Book*; but she told him, *They were none of his to give*; and refused the Motions; enduring of much misery for that refusal.

It cost the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depositions, they would for a long time be taken with Fits, that made them incapable of saying any thing. The chief Judge asked the Prisoner, who he thought hindered these Witnesses from giving their *Testimonies*? And he answered, *He supposed it was the Devil*. That Honourable Person replied, *How comes the Devil then to be so loath to have any Testimony born against you*? Which cast him into very great Confusion.

III. It has been a frequent thing for the bewitched People to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of Murdred People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always affright the beholders more than all the other spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out, of being Murdred by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the Persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considered, that once or twice, these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shewn themselves to the Bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusual or unsuspected, have attended the Death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions accosting of the Bewitched People; who had never heard a word of any such Persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murders of those very Persons, altho' these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the Bewitched, had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said, that they were G. B's two Wives, and that he had been the death of them; and that the Magistrates must be told of it, before whom if B. upon his Trial denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in Court. Now G. B. had been infamous for the barbarous usage of his two late wives, all the Country over. Moreover, it was testified, the Spectre of G. B.

threatning of the Sufferers, told them, he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann*. And it was noted, that these were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one at whom this G. B. might have a prejudice, for his being servicable at *Salem Village*, from whence himself had in ill Terms removed some years before: And that when they dy'd, which was long since, there were some odd Circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendants there suspect something of Witchcraft, tho none Imagined from what Quarter it should come.

Well, G. B. being now upon his Tryal, one of the Bewitched Persons was cast into Horror at the Ghost of B's two Deceased Wives then appearing before him, and crying for *Vengeance* against him. Hereupon several of the Bewitched Persons were successively called in; who all not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their Horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed that he had before him. But he, tho much appalled, utterly denied that he discerned any thing of it; nor was it any part of his *Conviction*.

IV. Judicious Writers have assigned it a great place in the Conviction of *Witches*, when Persons are Impeached by other notorious *Witches*, to be as ill as themselves; especially, if the Persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now, as there might have been Testimonies enough of G. B's Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, tho by his Profession, singularly obliged thereunto; so, there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several Persons, who confessed their own having been horrible Witches, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly Tortured by the Devils and other Witches even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the Pains of many Deaths for their Confessions.

These now testified, that G. B. had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the Person who had Seduced, and Compelled them into the snares of Witchcraft: That he promised them *Fine Cloaths*, for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and Thorns to stick into those Poppets for the Afflicting of other People; and that he exhorted them with the rest of the Crew, to Bewitch all *Salem Village*, but before to do it Gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancashire Witches* were condemned, I don't remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the Bewitched, and than that of some that confessed.

We see so much already against G. B. But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had been already produced Credible.

V. A famous Divine recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; *The Testimony of the party Bewitched, whether Pinning or Dying; together with the joyn't Oaths of sufficient Persons that have seen certain Prodigious Pranks or Feats wrought by the Party accused.* Now God had been pleased so to leave this G. B. that he had ensnared himself by several Instances, which he had formerly given of a Preternatural strength, and which were now produced against him. He was a very Puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a Gyant. A Gun of about seven foot Barrel, and so heavy that strong Men could not stedily hold it out with both hands; there were several Testimonies, given in by persons of Credit and Honour, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock, with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms end. G. B. in his Vindication, was so foolish as to say, *That an Indian was there, and held it out at the same time*; Whereas none of the Spectators ever saw any such Indian; but they supposed, the *Black Man*, (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an Indian) might give him that Assistance; There was Evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up a whole Barrel filled with *Malasses* or *Cider*, in very disadvantageous Postures, and carrying of them through the difficult places out of a Canoo to the Shore.

Yea, there are two Testimonies, that G. B. with only putting the Forefinger of his Right Hand into the Muzzle of an heavy Gun, a Fowling piece of about six or seven foot Barrel, did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms end; a Gun which the Deponents thought strong men could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the But-end, as is usual. Indeed, one of these Witnesses was over perswaded by some persons, to be out of the way upon G. B's Tryal; but he came afterward with Sorrow for his withdraw, and gave his Testimony; Nor were either of these Witnesses made use of as Evidences in the Trial.

VI. There came in several Testimonies relating to the Domestic Affairs of G. B. which had a very hard aspect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill man; but also confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already fastned on him.

'Twas testified, that keeping his two Successive Wives in a strange kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad

abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them; That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harsh dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him, to promise that in case Death should happen, they would say nothing of it; That he used all means to make his Wives write, sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant, never to reveal any of his Secret; That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested, and that many such things have been whispering among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies relating to the Death of People whereby the Consciences of an Impartial Jury were convinced that G. B. had Bewitched the Persons mentioned in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such passages, in this, as well as in all the succeeding Tryals, because the Scribes who took notice of them, have not supplied me.

VII. One Mr. Ruck, Brother in-Law to this G. B. testified, that G. B. and himself, and his Sister, who was G. B's Wife, going out for two or three Miles to gather Strawburies, Ruck with his Sister, the Wife of G. B. Rode home very Softly. with G. B. on Foot in their Company, G. B. stept aside a little into the Bushes; whereupon they halted and Hollo'd for him. He not answering, they went homewards, with a quickened pace, without expectation of seeing him in a considerable while; and yet when they were got near home, to their Astonishment, they found him on foot with them, having a Basket of Straw-berries. G. B. immediately then fell to Chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Brother, of him, on the Road: which when they wondred at, he said, *He knew their Thoughts*. Ruck being startled at that, made some Reply, intimating, that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, *My God makes known your Thoughts unto me*. The Prisoner now at the Bar had nothing to answer, unto what was thus witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck, and his Wife left a Man with him, when they left him*. Which Ruck now affirmed to be false; and when the Court asked G. B. *What the mans name was?* his Countenance was much altered; nor could he say, who 'twas. But the Court began to think, that he then stept aside, only that by the assistance of the *Black Man*, he might put on his *Invisibility*, and in that *Fascinating Mist*, gratifie his own Jealous Humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendering themselves Invisible, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend, that they sometimes

times are Masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is Demonstration, that they often render many other things utterly Invisible.

VIII. *Faltering, faulty, unconstant, and contrary Answers upon judicial and deliberate Examination*, are counted some unlucky Symptoms of Guilt, in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Prisoner more eminent for them, than G. B. both at his Examination and on his Trial. His *Tergiversations, Contradictions, and Falshoods*, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that had heard some things that he could not prove Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho he had many times before, granted, not only that there are Witches, but also, that the present sufferings of the Country are the effects of horrible Witches, yet he now goes to evince it, *That there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to Torment other People at a distance.* This Paper was Transcribed out of *Ady*; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it: But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which, his Evasion afterwards, was, That a Gentleman gave him the Discourse in a Manuscript, from whence he Transcribed it.

IX. The Jury brought him in Guilty: But when he came to Die, he utterly denyed the Fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.

II. *The Tryal of Briget Bishop, alias Oliver, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Salem, June 2. 1692.*

I. **S**HE was Indicted for Bewitching of several persons in the Neighbourhood; the Indictment being drawn up according to the form in such Cases usual. And pleading, *Not Guilty*, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of miseries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all the beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used, was the Testimony of the Bewitched; whereof several testified, That the *Shape* of the Prisoner did oftentime very grievously Pinch them, Choak them, Bite them, and Afflict them; urging them to write their Names in a Book, which the said Spectre called *Ours*. One of them did further testify, That it was the *Shape* of this Prisoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River-side, ~~thence~~ laid his Sword

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to Drown her, if she did not Sign to the Book mentioned : which yet she refused. Others of them did also testifie, That the said *Shape*, did in her Threats brag to them, that she had been the Death of sundry Persons, then by her named; that she had *Ridden* a man then likewise Named. Another testified, the Apparition of the *Ghosts* unto the Spectre of *Bishop*, cryed out, *You Murdered us!* About the Truth whereof, there was in the Matter of Fact but too much suspicion.

II. It was testified, That at the Examination of the Prisoner before the Magistrates, the Bewitched were extreemly tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no Collusion in the business. But upon the Touch of her Hand upon them, when they lay in their Swoons, they would immediately Revive; and not upon the Touch of any ones else. Moreover, upon some Special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her Head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like Postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, that she said, *She could not be troubled to see the Afflicted thus tormented.*

III. There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at the place, where a bewitched person said, the *Shape* of this *Bishop* stood, the bewitched cried out, *That he had tore her Coat*, in the place then particularly specified; and the Womans Coat was found to be Torn in that very place.

IV. One *Deliverance Hobbs*, who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres, for her Confession. And she now testified, That this *Bishop* tempted her to Sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confest'd. She affirmed, that it was the *Shape* of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this *Bishop* was at a General Meeting of the Witches, in a Field at *Salem Village*, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament in Bread and Wine then administred.

V. To render it further unquestionable that the Prisoner at the Bar, was the Person truly charged in THIS *Witchcraft*, there were produced many Evidences of OTHER *Witchcrafts*, by her perpetrated. For Instance, *John Cook* testified, That above five or six Years ago, one Morning, about Sun-rise, he was in his Chamber assaulted by the *Shape* of this Prisoner: Which fell on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him with a Blow

a Elbow on the side of the Head: And that on the same day, about Noon, the same *Shape* walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his Hand, into the Lap of his Mother, six or eight Foot from him.

VI. *Samuel Gray* testifi'd, That about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of Light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle, and the Bed-side, which look'd upon him. He rose, and it vanish'd; tho he found the Doors all fast. Looking out at the Entry-door, he saw the same Woman, in the same Garb again; and said, *In God's Name, what do you come for?* He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months, died in a sad Condition. He knew not *Bishop*, nor her Name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance, and Apparel, and All Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this *Bishop*, which had thus troubled him.

VII. *John Bly* and his Wife testifi'd, That he bought a Sow of *Edward Bishop*, the Husband of the Prisoner; and was to pay the Price agreed, unto another Person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the Money, quarrell'd with *Bly*. Soon after which, the Sow was taken with strange Fits; Jumping, Leaping, and Knocking her Head against the Fence; she seem'd Blind and Deaf, and would neither Eat, nor be Suck'd. VVhereupon, a Neighbour said, she believed the Creature was *Over-looked*; and sundry other Circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that *Bishop* had bewitched it.

VIII. *Richard Coman* testifi'd, That eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a Light burning in the Room, he was annoy'd with the Apparition of this *Bishop*, and of two more that were strangers to him, who came and oppress'd him so, that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else, and that he was the Night after molested again, in the like manner; the said *Bishop* taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the bed. His Kinsman offered for this cause to Lodg with him; and that Night, as they were awake, discoursing together, this *Coman* was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome; his Kinsman being at the same time struck Speechless, and unable to move Hand or Foot. He had laid his

Sword by him; which these unhappy Spectres did strive much to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his House, but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir, until at last, one of the People crying out, *what's the Matter?* The Spectres all vanished.

IX. Samuel Shattock testified, That in the Year 1680, this Bridget Bishop, often came to his House upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of Mischief. Whereupon, presently his eldest Child, which was of a promising Health and Sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftner that Bishop came to the House, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an invisible hand, and in like sort knock his Face against the sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this Bishop would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not imagin any use; and when she paid him a piece of Mony, the Purse and Mony were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen any more. The Child was immediately, hereupon, taken with terrible Fits, whereupon his Friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almost nothing but Cry and Sleep for several Months together; and at length his Understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him, one was, That there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the World could never fetch him off. About 17 or 18 years after, there came a Stranger to Shattock's House, who seeing the Child, said, *This poor Child is Bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off, who is a Witch.* He added, *your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her Heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child.* He then remembered, that Bishop had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Terms, a little before the Child was taken ill. The above said Stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him, to Bishop's House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came, and saying, *Thou Rogue, what dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said, before he went, That he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascrib'd unto *Witchcraft*; and wherein he would be thrown

thrown still into the *Fire* or the *Water*, if he were not constantly look'd after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.

X. *John Louder* testified, That upon some little Controversy with *Bishop* about her Fowls going well to Bed, he did awake in the Night by *Moon* light, and did see clearly the likeness of this *Woman* grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him, unable to help himself, till near Day. He told *Bishop* of this; but she deny'd it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a *Lord's Day*, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black *Pig* approach him; at which, he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black Thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The Body was like that of a *Monkey*, the Feet like a *Cocks*, but the Face much like to that of a *Man*. He being so extreamly affrighted, that he could not speak, this Monster spoke to him, and said, *I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it, but he could feel no substance; and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Poreh, tho the Doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my Counsel!* He then struck at it with a Stick, but struck only the Groundsel, and broke the Stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently Disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the Back-door, and spied this *Bishop* in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had no power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon, returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before; which *Goblin* was now going to fly at him; whereat he cry'd out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* So it sprang back, and flew over the *Apple-Tree*, shaking many Apples off the Tree, in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its Feet against the Stomach of the *Man*; whereon he was then struck Dumb, and so continued for 3 days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, *Bishop* deny'd that she knew this Depo-
nent: yet their own Orchards joyn'd; and they had often had their little Quarrels for some years together.

XI. *William Stacey* testified, That receiving Mony of this *Bishop*, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of three Rods from her, and looking for his Mony, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Bishop*, asked him, whether his Father would grind her Grist for her? He demanded why? She re-
ply'd,